Scotlands holy VVar.

A DISCOURSE

Truly, and plainly remonſtrating, How the SCOTS out of a corrupt pretended zeal to the COVENANT have made the ſame ſcandalous, and odious to all good men: and How by religious pretexts of ſaving the Peace of *Great Brittain* they have irreligiouſly involved us all in a moſt pernitious Warre.

Tantum Religio potuit ſuadere malorum.

Curs'd man, what canſt Thou hope for, what deſire?
To Thee Chriſt brings a ſword, his Goſpel fire.
Be man no more, abjure thy wretched kinde:
Leſt Mannah poizen, Sun-beams ſtrike thee blinde:

By *H. P.* Eſquire.

LONDON:
Printed by *Fran: Neile*, in Alderſgate-ſtreet. 1651.

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JUNE 1, 1916

READER,

I Have lately seen in Print an Apologie for such Ministers, and people, as out of conscience did not observe the *Thanksgiving-day* dedicated by the Parliament to Almighty God, for giving us victory against the *Scots*: and the Apologist had prefixed this Title in his Front:

Sad and serious Politicall Considerations touching the Invasive Warre against our Presbyterian Protestant Brethren in Scotland, *their late great overthrow, and the probable dangerous consequences thereof to both Nations, and the Protestant Religion.*

As soon as I had read it over; I saw heavy, and bitter charges in it against the Power now Governing, and by consequence against our Nation, and Religion, but all was built upon such premisses, as were left utterly unproved. I doubt not therefore but all Schollers will deride the Author, as void of wit and ingenuity: and will think that Pamphlet unworthy of an Answer, which can challenge nothing besides a flat denyall. But when I consider the multitude, who scarce discern betwixt Arguments and Invectives, or points that require solid proofs, and such as sometimes are not worth prooving: when I consider this multitude may be dangerously imposed upon by confident writers indeed, such as have effrontery enough to grant themselves any thing under dispute: I dare not be wanting to a distressed

Cauſe, and vitiated Truth. What the Apologiſt though affirmant has left unproved, *viz:* that the Parliament has broken Covenant with the *Scots*, and made an Invaſive warre upon the *Presbyterians*: the ſame I though reſpondent ſhall endeavour to leave diſproved. And I hope I ſhall remonſtrate by ſomething more then Averments, my Antagoniſts beſt arguments: 1. that the *Covenant* was firſt violated by the *Scots*, and 2ly, that this warre of great Britain was raiſed by the *Presbyterians*.

Of the Covenant.

ABout 11. or 12. yeers ſince, the late King began to take Arms againſt the Scotch Nation upon Eccleſiaſtical quarrels, but his ſucceſſe was ſo ill therein, that He could neither hopefully purſue, nor yet handſomly compoſe thoſe broils. The reaſon was, becauſe his Popiſh Subjects could not, and his Proteſtant Subjects in *England* would not ſupport him with their effectuall aſſiſtance in that cauſleſs warre. So this Parliament was then convened to extricate the ſaid King out of thoſe difficulties: and had there been any other remedie that poſſibly could have releaſd him (ſo intangled, as He then was) either by pacifying the *Scots* without force, or forcing them without pacification, this remedie had never been thought on: for there was nothing in the world more adverſe to his Tyrannicall ends; then the freedome, and controuling authority of that high Court. Long it was not therefore after the ſitting of our great Councell, before the ſaid King gave open teſtimonies, how odious it was to Him to ſee his boundles Prerogative ſo checkt: nay many months had not elapſed before diſguſts had hacht & ripend bloody & dangerous plots againſt the whole repreſentative bodie of our State, 2. Armies were now in the North out of all military imployment, and this put the King in ſome hopes, that either one of them or both might be woone to his partie; and ſo help to rid him of his loathed rivality. Strong endeavours were uſed accordingly; but God blaſted them all: the Scotch Army thought it

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too horrid a thing to attempt the ruin of that Court which was so true to their preservation, and so assured to the ends of their late Declaration: and the English Army durst not attempt any thing, having the power of *London* to mate them before, and the *Scots* behinde, yet the Parliament truly apprehending danger from these, and other like machinations to fortifie themselves the better, frame a Protestation for all the people to take, and whosoever should refuse the same, He was voted unfit to bear Office either in Church, or Common-wealth. This *Protestation* was taken in 1641. and the Protesters did thereby in the presence of Almighty God binde themselves to defend Religion, the King, the Parliament, publick Liberty, the Union, and peace of the three Kingdoms, with a clause to be assisting to all that adhered to this *Protestation*, and to be at enmity with all its opposers. The King stomacht much this new way of imbodying the people in leagues, and parties, and knew well that the contrivers of it intended it for a combination against his unlimited pretensions: but seeing his interests were here as specially provided for as any other, without any insinuated subordination, and that it left his pretensions as unprejudiced as they were before: he smothered much of his distaste against it. Ordinary affronts, and misadventures did rather quicken then quash this Kings resolutions, wherefore upon this Account He made the more haste into *Scotland* upon some concealed reasons of State: and his hope was, that by his passing through both the Armies in the North, He should finde an opportunity to be his own negotiater with all the chief Commanders. All these royall arts nevertheless miscarried, and were not able to debosh the Armies, for either the Commanders were jealous of the soulderies integrity, or the Souldiery of one Army suspected the sincerity of the other, or else the Parliaments sollicitations proved as efficacious, as the Kings: somthing there was that concurred to the abortion of that mischief. The King therfore speeds away to *Scotland* with superfetations of further plots in his unquiet head; but his old fate still accompanied him, for there He was soon disburthened of some of his monstrous conceptions, to the great detriment of other men: but He scarse ever prospered in any one designe for the advancement of himself. Some Noblemen that were invited to a bloodie supper, got timely advertisement of the royall assassinators, and so by flying privily out of *Edenburgh* secured themselves: but that ever to be execrated insurrecti-

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on in *Ireland*, by the *Iriſh* Papiſts againſt the *Britiſh* Proteſtants, came to effect at that time; and tis known well enough that the chief actors in that tragedie alledged a Commiſſion from the King under the great Seal of *Scotland*, to juſtifie all that they then perpetrated. Here was an iſſue of blood ſpent, that is not ſtanched to this day: little leſſe then 500000 Chriſtians were ſacrificed, and devoted to ſlaughter by that Commiſſion (and the King himſelf never took any effectuall courſe to wipe off that ſtain) but what proſperity has that diſmall deluge of blood brought at laſt to the Kings cauſe?

Hitherto the King keeps from open defiance with the Parliament of *England*: but now Gods flaming Miniſter of warre begins to brandiſh his ſword againſt this Nation: now the King is returned from *Scotland*: and now begins the year 1642. wherein Arms are openly taken up, and avowed on both ſides. *Scotland* for two or three years before had ſeen war, bnt without ſlaughter: *Ireland* had been miſerably the yeer before imbrued with ſlaughter, yet ſaw no war: but *England* muſt now prepare her ſelf both for war, and ſlaughter. At the firſt harneſſing, and making ready for the field both ſides pretended to be on the defence: and both pretended to ſtand for the defence of the ſame perſons, and rights; the Parliament declares for the Kings rights aſwell as the ſubjects Liberties: and the King for the Subjects Liberties, as well as his own rights: the matter of the *Proteſtation* is the cauſe they both fight for; inſomuch that by their profeſſions it might be thought the *Proteſtation* were equally favoured by both. Neither were their ſucceſſes much unanſwerable to their profeſſions: for after a bloodie battell fought neer *Keinton* in Octob: and another hot encounter at *Brainford*, and after divers other conflicts in ſeverall other places of the Northern, Weſtern, and middle Counties of *England* either ſide got blows, but neither ſide carried away any great advantage, or conqueſt: only the Kings ſecret correſpondence with the *Iriſh* began now to grow more evident, as well by their declaring for the Kings pretences, as by his diverting the preparations made here againſt them. At this time the threed of the Kings Councels was exceeding finely ſpun, the more zealous He ſeemed againſt the Iriſh openly, the more zeal He atteſted to them privately, and they themſelves could not but ſee by the Kings ſeizing our *Iriſh* proviſions here, and aſſuring himſelf of our Forces ſent thither, that the more we exhauſted our ſelves in

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ſending ſupplies againſt them, the more unable we ſhould be in the end either to reſiſt the King here, or to reduce them there. Howſoever as was noted before, though the moſt ſubtill threeds of the King, were ſtrong enough ſometimes to fabricate toils and nets for his ſubjects, yet they never could be twiſted into ladders for the mounting of him to his aſpired grandour.

About the beginning of the year 1643. another black deſperate deſigne againſt the City of *London* was diſcoverd, ſcarce inferior to any of thoſe former impregnations of the Kings inraged brain: whereupon the Parliament again had recourſe to this new religious guard of Vowing, and Covenanting. And herein after the Covenanters had humbled themſelves before God for the Nations ſins, and judgements, and promiſed by Gods grace to endeavour for the future, an amendment of their wayes, they the ſecond time ingaged themſelves by Vow, and Covenant, in the preſence of Almighty God, to be adhering faithfully to the Forces raiſed by the Parliament for defence of Religion, and liberty. &c. But notwithſtanding the vertue of both theſe holy remedies againſt the Kings unceſſant ſtratagems: about the latter end of the ſame Summer the Parliaments affairs came to a great declination, and till they obtained aid from the Scotch Nation, their condition was thought very tottering. In Auguſt the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners began to treat at *Edinburgh*: and about the depth of Winter the *Scots* advanced with a compleat, well appointed Army. Yet this may not be wholly pretermitted, that the *Scots* were long deliberating about their march, and though they ſaw their ruin involved in ours, and their faith no leſſe pre-ingaged to us for mutuall aſſiſtance, then ours was to them: yet they advanced not at laſt but upon theſe ſtrict conditions: 1. That we being then but a waſted part of *England*, yet ſhould preſently imburſe them out of our afflicted affairs with a great ſumme of ready money: 2ly, That they ſhould be payed as mercenaries, and yet have a ſhare in government here, as if they were our joyntenants. And 3ly, that we ſhould enter with them into a new ſolemn League and Covenant upon Oath, as it was by them compoſed, and conceived. So diſproportionable, and unſuitable is their amity to their enmity: for when they had a pretence of a quarrell contrary to former Treaties with *England*, in 1648. twas in their power to invade *England* readily without aſſurance of preſent Advance-money, or eſtabliſht pay afterwards: and ſuch able Enemies we found them

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in all ages: but when they were to be ayding to part of *England*, in obſervance of former Treaties, in 1643. there is no moving in ſuch a work without ample Covenants: ſo much more difficult amongſt them is the enterpriſe of helping, then is the enterpriſe of undoing.

It is manifeſt now, by that which has been hitherto premiſed, that the firſt occaſion of flying to ſuch conſcientious tyes and expedients as theſe, was that the late Kings plots, and conſpiracies might be thereby the better diſappointed, and that the people might be thereby the better confirmed in their oppoſition againſt Him. And this makes it now ſeem the more ſtrange to us, that the *Scots* at preſent ſhould make their Covenant ſo main an engine for the King againſt us, which at firſt was certainly excogitated as a main engine for us againſt the King. 2ly, it is hereby as manifeſt that the *Scotch* Covenant which is now inſiſted on by that Nation, and was preſſed on us at firſt with ſo much rigor, did add no new obligation at all to the *Engliſh*: Religion, Liberty, Monarchy, and the peace of the Nations were aſmuch ſecured before, and as ſanctimoniouſly by the Proteſtation in 1641. and by the vow, and Covenant in 1643. as they were afterwards by the ſolemn League and Covenant, when the *Scotch* Army was to enter *England*. 3ly. We cannot obſerve by any remarkable bleſſing from Heaven, that the hand of God did ever give any gratious teſtimony in behalf of theſe new ſacramentall obligations. The proteſtation was thought ineffectuall till the vow, and Covenant came in with a greater ſupply of religion: the vow, and Covenant was not able to break the Kings Armies till the ſolemn League of *Scotland* had ſuperinduced its further ſanctity: and when that was ſuperinduced and came accompanied with 20000 armed men from *Scotland*, the King ſubſiſted, yea and thrived a long time after: and without doubt thoſe Oaths which he impoſed within his quarters did aſmuch ſervice againſt us, as ours did for us in our quarters. We all know that twas not a new Oath but a new modeld Army that by Gods moſt gratious hand firſt gave check to the Kings proſperity: and tis not ſo viſible that ever we trampled on the Royaliſts formerly by obſervance of the Covenant, as that we are now miſerably ingaged in blood againſt the *Scots*, by miſpriſions, and falſe gloſſes of the ſame. The Lord of his boundles mercy grant at laſt that we may return to our old wayes of humiliation, ſeek to appeaſe that Majeſty by faſting, and praying, which is to be feared

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we have provoked by superstitious vowing, and swearing. 4ly, We cannot finde that ever the people was rightly fitted, or at all benefited by these new sacramentall Leagues, or rather politicall Sacraments: for in *England* we had too many that would take the Kings Oaths when He was prevalent, and the Parliaments also when they were prevalent: and in *Scotland Montrosses* victory left lamentable spectacles of humane treacherie and impietie as to the *Covenant*: No sooner had he in 1644. woon one pitcht Field but the Nation generally flow'd in to Him, to submit unto his new royall bonds, with curses upon them that had forcibly clogd their consciences by contrary ones before; and no sooner had *D: Lesly* routed Him, but the same people again shifted *Montrosses* bonds with detestations as high, and bitter, as they had the Parliaments before. This is a prodigious example, exceedingly to be deplored not onely by the *Scots*, but by all mankinde.

But to proceed: The breaches, and hostilities which at this day are sprung out of the *Covenant* betwixt the Covenanters of both Nations are too visible: the question is therfore, whether we shall charge these mischiefs upon the ill composure of the *Covenant* it self, or upon the malice of the Covenanters: and if upon the Covenanters, whether are more guilty the *English*, or the *Scotch*? And first as to the *Covenant* it self, it seems to me that even that was not compiled so briefly, so clearly, and so impartially as it might have been, and that has given some occasion of stumbling to some: but certainly blood had never been drawn by brethren so leagued together, as we are, had it not been for the ignorance, arrogance, and high injustice of the Covenanters. Antiquity which was famous for ingenuity, had not any use to charge their humane contracts, much lesse divine, with so various and heterogeneous branches, as this *Covenant* is charged withall: some points of it are divine, some morall, some civil: some are of higher, some of meaner concernment: and all of them thus odly compacted together swell it up into too rude a lump. Moreover, since variety of parts made it more grosse, and by consequence more obnoxious to doubts, and intricacies, there ought to have been more care to distinguish betwixt those parts which were coordinate, and those which were subordinate: and in case some provisoes proved inconsistent with others, it should have been predetermined which should supersede, and which should be

ſuperſeded. The King by one clauſe, as He is King, is to be maintained equally with Religion, &c. yet by another clauſe, as He is a profeſt enemy to the Covenant, is to be purſued by arms, and brought to condigne puniſhment. The ſafetie of Religion may poſſibly be irreconcileable with the ſafety of the King: and the ſafety of the King confeſſedly owes a ſubordination to the ſafety of Religion: yet it is left dubious by the *Covenant* how far the inferior here ſhall give way to the ſuperior. The unity, and peace of the Nations is the ſcope of one Article in the *Covenant*, and that Article had a high place in the intent of thoſe which indighted the *Covenant*: yet neither does this Article condemne all war as unlawfull betwixt the Nations, nor yet preſcribe when it may be judged Lawfull, nor by whom. The *Scots* by one interpretation of the *Covenant* are more ſtrictly imbodied with us then formerly, and ſo to be aſſiſting in our Reformation: yet by another interpretation, they are to maintain to us our Nationall rights, and not at all to interpoſe in judging of our *Engliſh* affairs: and how can they reform where they may not judge, or how can they judge where they have no propriety? or how can they challenge more by vertue of this Covenant-union in *England*, then we do in *Scotland*? or how can confuſion of intereſts be introduced, where there remains a coordination ſo equally, and juſtly preſerved?

In the next place, there is a palpable partiality in the *Covenant* whereby is eaſie to be perceived in which Nation it received its being: for the Church of *England*, and *Ireland* are to be reformed, but the Church of *Scotland* is to be preſerved in its perfection of Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline, and Government. In ſumme, all three Nations are to purge away whatſoever is contrary to ſound doctrine, and the power of Godlines: and the only true ſtandart for ſuch purgation is the book of God, and foraſmuch as that is as truly a ſtandart to the *Scots* as to the *Engliſh*, they, though the *Covenant* prejudges and preſumes them perfect, are to be tryed by this Book as well as we are, and as that which is defective in them muſt be rectified by this ſtandart: ſo that which is not defective in us muſt be juſtified by the ſame. We conclude therefore juſtly, that either the Article it ſelf pre-judges us, or is by them ill prejudged when they aſſume, that we are to conform to them, more then they are to conform to us: for ſo much as there is but one

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only book to which we are bound equally both of us to conform; and of that Book they are no more authenticall interpreters then we are. These exceptions, and perhaps more, might be taken against the *Covenant* it self, and the manner of obtruding it: but we fix not hereupon, nor will we mention it, as to the genuine intent of it, without reverence: the main offence that has been given to the world, has been given by the Takers of it in a false sense, not by it self. The inquirie therefore at this time is, whether the *English*, or *Scots*, whether the *Presbyterians*, or *Independents* are most blameable before God, and Men, for the scandall which has been given by occasion of this *Solemn League, and Covenant*. For the better discussion hereof, we shall do well to observe, first, which of the parties has been most clamorous against the other; 2ly, What the principall matter of those clamors has been; 3ly, What may be most probably aymed at by the raisers of those clamors: 4ly, What the issue has been.

As to the first it is apparent, that the *Scotch Presbyterians*, were the first compilers of the *Covenant*, and that they still continue to set a sacred value upon it, even unto a great degree of superstition: and tis as apparent, that they had not been so strangely transported with rage against us, but for our attributing less then they do to it. The *Covenant* is their *Word* in the day of battell; the *Covenant in specie* is carried along by their Priests, when they march into the Field, as if it were held oraculous, and had the same presence of God ingaged to it, as the Ark had amongst the Jews: The *Covenant* in Law is made transcendent to an Act of Parliament; nay if both Nations should agree in one Act of Parliament, that Act could neither make more intense, nor more remisse the obliging force of this *Covenant*. This *Covenant* is sometimes call'd Gods Covenant, and inscribed by the *Scots* in the same table with Gods Covenant of mercy to his Church, and therefore when they will animate the people against us in war, they tell them that God cannot deliver up his Turtle dove, and his Covenant into the hands of such Enemies. Now because we come not up to this hight of adoration, we seem despisers of the Covenant in the *Scots* eyes; and because we seem despisers of so holy a thing (accounted by them the very soul of Religion, and policy) their gall flows out most violently against us. They tell us, we have brought great scandall, and reproach upon the

Name of God, the Name of his people, and the ſtudy of piety: that we have not onely broken the *Solemn League and Covenant* betwixt God and theſe Nations, but have in effect rejected it, and trampled upon it, are become enemies to all the ends of it, yea perſecuters of the ſervants, and people of God for their adherence to it. This in effect has been their burthen againſt us for divers yeers, though it be as void of truth, as it is of charity: and though we (who may more juſtly inſtance in this, and divers other things as breaches of the Covenant on their parts) have never made the Covenant any ground of quarrell, or reproach againſt them. Tis far from us to under-value the Covenant: we hold it a religious tie of mutuall aſſiſtance betwixt the Nations againſt the common Enemies of Religion, Liberty, and Union, and ſo we think honorably of it: only we make it no ſpell, nor idol: nor can we beleeve that it ties us to any duty, which our *Proteſtation*, and *Vow*, tied us not to before, nor did our *Proteſtation*, and *Vow* create any new duties to us when we firſt entred into them.

In the next place, though there be many heavy breaches of *Covenant* ubrayded to us: yet all of them reſolve into theſe two, That we make not good what we have covenanted for either to God, or to the King. They could never ſay till this laſt Summer (nor can they truly ſay ſo of us laſt Summer) that we ever entred their Countrey to diſturbe their peace, to claim, or uſurp any ſhare in their Government, to lay taxes, ſeize Towns, waſte Villages, and deſtroy Natives amongſt them, as they have done amongſt us: all that they can object to us is, concerning injuries done to other parties, within our own territories, where by the Covenant they have no juriſdiction at all. In the behalf of God, they complain, that our profeſſed Faith is nothing elſe but a mixture of Arrianiſme, Socinianiſme, Antinomianiſme, Familiſme, Antiſcripturiſme, Anabaptiſme, Eraſtianiſme, and Independency: but they know well that for matter of Doctrine, we ſtill retain the old Articles of our Church, without any ſtaggering at all in the leaſt: and for matter of Diſcipline, we are willing to comply with them ſo far as they comply with Gods Word: but in this we have our eyes in our heads as well as they, and tis no Law for us to damne the opinion of *Eraſtus*, or the perſon of any *Independent*, becauſe they by them are diſhonorably ſpoken of. The truth is, the *Independent* departs not ſo far from *Eraſtus*, as the

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Presbyterian: and *Erastus* is no Freind to the supreme power of Synods, nor the uncontroulable dominion of Priests; and this makes the *Independent* so injurious to God, otherwise call'd the *Kirk*, otherwise call'd *Kirkmen*; were it not alone for this sin in the *Independent*, Arrianisme, Socinianisme, &c. (though we were therewith more infected then the *Scots*, as we are not) would make no breach of *Covenant* at all amongst us.

In behalf of the King, they complain, that we have treated him not onely as an Enemy to the *Covenant*, but also irreconcileable to the very being of our State: and hereupon they take upon them to bewail the hard condition of the *English*, that they are loaded with so many, and so great taxes, and subjected so rigorous, and obdurate Laws: which shall receive Answers in due place. But in the mean time, tis neither the Kings, nor the peoples sufferings that stirs such a deal of compassion, and zeal in the bowels of our fellow-Covenanters; tis the change of our Government, by which they perceive at last, they themselves are verie great loosers. The truth is, the difference betwixt the King and us heretofore was of great advantage to them: and this advantage (though it was no property, or right of theirs, but a wrong, and damage of ours) is now faln away from them. The King shall now have no more occasion to give them pensions in *Scotland*, nor gratifications here to do us dis-service in behalf of his Prerogative: nor shall we be any more bound to hire their service against the Crown: and we must know, that these double offices, or ambidextrous versatile arts of doing services, and dis-services was as great a revenue to them (especially since these last troubles) as the intrad oes of all *Scotland*.

Now this therefore in the third place, may save us our labour of further inquiry about the ends, and aims of the *Scots* in their exclamations, and expostulations against us, when they contest in behalf of the *Covenant*. We see what the Clergie in *Scotland*, and here, are so thirstie of, they would fain have Consistories in every Parish, where they might have a free power to dispence the Ordinances of Christ to such as prove observant of them, and to cast out all that are not submissive enough: and for fear Lay Judges should ballance too much there, they would have Classes above better defecated of such secular persons: and for fear lest those Classes should be controuled by Parliaments: they would

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have Aſſemblies above all to act for Chriſt in all matters whatſoever military, or judiciall, wherein Chriſts Throne, that is the Kirk may be concerned. No Proteſtant Biſhops ever aſpired to ſo ſollid a power on earth: nay except in the Popes own Patrimony, where He is a Prince, no Biſhops in Europe under any other Lay Princes are allowed to ſit and act ſo independently, upon a Commiſſion ſo large, as the *Scotch* Aſſemblies do: and therfore we cannot wonder if ſuch a new Hierachy, as this of the Presbyterians be ſo deſirable amongſt our Kirk-men. Furthermore, when ſuch impetuous appetites of all the Clergie in *Scotland*, backt with ſome thouſands of ours in *England*, ſhall alſo fall in at the ſame time with the intereſts of ſo many of the Nobility, Gentry, and Souldiery in *Scotland*, as drove a very thriving trade heretofore by ſiding ſometimes with the King againſt us, at other times with us againſt the King: and theſe things can be no other way compaſt, or pretended to but by the ambiguous ſenſe of the Covenant: we cannot wonder, if the Covenant be held ſo venerable a thing as it is in *Scotland*, and made the price of blood and war, as to every puntilio in it. More then this needs not be ſaid of the *Scotch* Presbyterians, if as much could be ſaid of the *Engliſh* Independents, and that they may have as fair hopes, and probable ends againſt the *Scots* by ſuppreſſing the Covenant unduly, as the *Scats* have againſt us by inforcing it immoderately: I would willingly quit this as a nugatory, weightles preſumption. The laſt thing that may deſerve to ſtay and take up our thoughts a little is, the iſſue, and event that both ſides have met with, and this may juſtly ſway our cenſures in ſuch a queſtion, as this is. The King being driven to extremities in *Oxford*, and being privy to the differences betwixt both Nations about ſome conſtructions of the Covenant, choſe rather to caſt himſelf into theirs then our hands; and we cannot imagine that the King which ſo hated and feared the true intent of the Covenant, would rather intruſt his life to thoſe which He thought more true, then thoſe whom he thought more falſe to the Covenant. But what ſucceſſe had that truſt of his? it coſt him his ruine in the end; for they which interpreted the Covenant for his purpoſe whileſt he was to put a great prize into their cuſtodie, ſoon found out a contrary interpretation, when the Parliaments money out-weigh'd that prize. This and their animating him divers times againſt our Propoſi-

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tions tendered, when the King was thereby, and by other ſecret correſpondencies rendered more dangerous to us, and more uncouncellable to Himſelf was fatall to Him. But now ſince in favour of his Son the former interpretation is reſumed the ſecond time: how has the caſe been altered? The caſe in truth is even thus, the young King has repented of his coming amongſt them, the Kirk begins to repent of his admiſſion amongſt them: the hand of God has been heavy upon both: and tis almoſt come to this, that the moſt conſcientious *Presbyterians* in *Scotland* muſt read the Covenant in a new ſence amongſt us: whileſt all the reſt muſt lay aſide the Covenant wholly amongſt the ancient, profeſſed Enemies of it. I will not ſtrain this argument of ſucceſſe too high: but this is to be remarked, that the ſucceſſe here put, is not ordinary, or meer ſucceſſe: foraſmuch as it has been ſent from Heaven after ſolemn appeals thither made by two religious parties, and as the honour of God was much concerned in it, ſo the manner of ſending it was more then ordinary.

We draw nearer now to the Covenant it ſelf, and ſhall conſider it firſt in the whole, and then in its parts. The firſt claſhing we had with the *Scots* was about the right which each Nation had paſt to the other meerly by joyning in ſuch a mutuall, ſanctimonious ſtipulation: for when we objected to them upon ſeverall occaſions, that they interpoſed too far in the Affairs, and Councels of *England*, they as often gave us this Anſwer, that we were not ſince our conjunction with them in the Covenant and Treaties to look upon them as ſtrangers, or ſo far diſtanced, in the intereſt of *England*, as they were before. This was at large refuted, and ſilenced by the Parliament, and therefore little need to be ſaid in it: and indeed Leagues, and Pacts are common amongſt all other Nations, yet no man ever argued ſuch a State is united to ſuch a State as to ſuch a particular war, or as to the attaining of ſome other particular purpoſes, therefore they are incorporated into one State, and united as to all other purpoſes whatſoever. This is ridiculous: ſenſe, and experience is ſufficient to explode it. And if the *Scots* plead further, that there is ſomething extraordinary in this bond of the Covenant, which knits faſter, and cloſer then all other bonds: proof will fail them herein: and yet if proof were not failing: their equality of intereſt with ours in *England* would not follow notwithſtanding. For either the Co-

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venant has reduced our two States and Dominions into one, or not. If it has not; then the *Engliſh* mans intereſt is as intire, and remains as diſtinct from the Scochmans as it was before: confuſion of properties is a thing as abhorred in policy, as a vacuity is in nature. But if both the governments by our Covenant adunation be compacted into one, and the ſame: then where is that one and the ſame ſupreme Tribunall, which is equally to determine all Nationall diſputes, and may legally challenge ſubmiſſion from all aggrieved parties? Should an Army be committed to 2. Generals, and the Commiſſion ſpecifie nothing concerning the partition of their Commands, and prevention of their rivalities, nothing but ruin could be expected. Therefore the very letter of the Covenant was ſo far from intending to take away all ſeverality from us, that it clearly puts each Nations Liberties and rights amongſt thoſe other things, which it propoſes to it ſelf to ſave by this promiſed aſſiſtance of each Nation: ordring likewiſe this aſſiſtance, that no man ſhould yeeld the ſame otherwiſe then in his ſeverall place, and calling, and according to all our ſeverall places, and intereſts. Tis the more immodeſty alſo in the *Scots* to arrogate to themſelves an equall ſhare in the rich Commonwealth of *England*, which the *Engliſh* never made any pretence to in the like barrener ſoil of *Scotland*. But if a moity of our *Engliſh* government in all caſes whatſoever be not due to the *Scots*, as they are our brethren in Covenant with us, and equall parties in the ſame ſtipulation: yet in the next place we cannot deny them an equall ſhare in the judgment of the Covenant, and all diſputes about the ſame. If they be contractors with us, and by vertue of the ſame Contract are as well inabled to require performances of conditions from us, as they are obliged to perform conditions to us, it ſtands with all manner of equity and reaſon that they ſhould have as great a latitude and freedom, as we, in determining what is to be performed on either part. We deny not to the *Scots* the ſame extent of judging in *England*, as to Covenant differences, which we claim in *Scotland*: this onely is denied by us: that either they are as properly Judges of matters in *England*, as they are in *Scotland*, or we in *Scotland*, as in *England*. This was the fallacy that ſhould have blinded us, but there is no ſuch great depth of ſophiſtry in it. The States of *England* and *Scotland* are equally independent, & the Covenant cannot grant to one equall

equality; and consequently no superiority to be in either: so long it is vain, injurious, and against the ends of the Covenant for one to passe sentence upon the other. Tis vain, because the sentence has no operation at all, the party sentenced protests justly against it, and all third indifferent parties look indifferently upon the sentence and protestation. Tis injurious; because he that condemns his equall, does that to another, which he would not have another do to himself: and if there be no other superior Judge on earth, He intrudes into the chair of God himself. Lastly, tis against the Covenant, because the intent of the Covenant is to settle peace, and amity by offices of Justice and humanity betwixt the Nations: whereas there can be no end of controversies and hostilities, when sentences shall be spoken against parties that are no inferiors, and that by parties that are no superiors. The *Scots* therefore in this have been exceedingly too blame, and there is no doubt but the ruine of the King, and all the late miseries of their own wasted Countrey have been derived from this strange insufferable arrogance of theirs. Tis frequent with them to protest against the Parliament of *England* as no lawfull Authority; to denounce against all the Souldery of *England* as Sectaries, Rebels, and regicides; to upbraid all the Gentry, and Comminalty of *England* submitting to the present Government, as men that prostitute their consciences to a sinfull shamefull thraldome: to incite all the *Presbyterians*, and discontented persons in *England* to the kindling of new flames amongst us. And this is more then to invade a moity of the Legislative power of *England*, this is to seize all: this is more then to claim a jurisdiction in Covenant affairs, this is to invasi all us totally in all cases whatsoever: this is more then to pronounce judgement against us at home in civill cases, this is to pursue us with fire, and sword, as well forrein, as domestick. Should our Nation now descend to the like outragious recriminations, or rather feminine altercations, being first provoked, and having juster grounds, what an odious noise would this trouble all Europe with? Well: but still there is something to be said for the *Scots*: if they may not call us to their own barre, as they are our fellow Covenanters, and as they are equally parties in so religious a League with us, yet there is another Bar to which they may cite us, there is still here upon earth

a barre of common equity and reason; and as this Barre the *English* are accountable for all their delinquencies against the *Covenant*. To this we agree, and shall appear as is required by the citation.

The late King some years before the eruption of these troubles, had made many dangerous attempts against the purity of the Protestant Religion, and the Liberties of the Subjects in all the three Nations. Now in 1643. when Arms were taken up on all hands either for assisting, or opposing the King in these his designes against Religion, and Liberty: the Covenant was formed by that party which rose up against the King, and the main primary use, it was formed, & intended for was to protect Religion, and Liberty against Him, and his adherents. The framers of it also at the same time took notice, that the cases of Religion, and Liberty could not be well separated, forasmuch as the King if He prevailed against the one, would more easily prevail against the other. Religion was the richer Free-hold, but Liberty had the stronger fence to preserve it from the violence of intruders. It was likewise visible that Religion would make the people more zealous for Liberty, and Liberty would impower the people the better to defend Religion. Besides, suppose the taking away of the people, and you suppose withall the taking away of Religion, and suppose the taking away of Liberty, and you do in a manner suppose the taking away of the people; for the life of a bodie politick consists not in living, but in living free. The Covenant therefore primarily, and ultimately proposes to it self the safety and prosperity of the true Protestant Religion in the safety and Liberty of the three Nations, and the safety and Liberty of the three Nations in the safety and prosperity of the true Protestant Religion. All other Articles in the Covenant are but secondary, and subordinate hereunto: and they are to have respect from us not as they stand higher, or lower in order, but as they are more, or lesse serviceable to those higher purposes, for which they were at first ordained. Upon this ground, that branch in the Covenant which obliges us, to seek God in this sacred Ingagement by a speciall amendment of our lives, and reformation of our own private wayes: at such a time as this, merits the honor of the first place. And next hereunto worthily may succeed those 2. branches by which the Nations are so strictly confederated in peace, and amity:

amley: and by which all parties to this confederation have past their solemn Pacts to be assisting to each other, & bringing all opposites to condigne punishment. That branch which was inserted in favour of the King (at that time the principal Enemy of the Covenant) and for saving of his Prerogatives (so desperately at that time disputed by the sword) if it could challenge any place at all, could certainly challenge none but the last and lowest, how soever the *Scots* had ranged it, and do still propugn it. Nothing surely could more cloud the meaning of each part in the Covenant, or more pester, and perturbe the whole frame of it, then this insertion. The same Oath to God now binds us in one clause to pursue with fire, and sword all that are enemies to this Oath, and yet the grand enemy of this Oath by another clause in the same Oath, is preserved inviolable: nay that clause which preserves one Enemy, has a local preference before, that which pursues all. Hereupon if a Commission be taken from the King to destroy this Solemn League, He that takes it dies ignominously as a Traytor, but he that gives it, has that indemnity given by the Covenant, which his kingly office could not have given him. The very penning also of this Article leaves us very dubious, and perplext, how far the Kings royalty is saved to Him: for the saving is not absolute, but refers to something in order above it: and that is the saving of Religion and Liberty. Here therefore two new doubts meet with us to intangle us: 1. In what degree the King may be proceeded against, when in such a degree He indangers Religion, and Liberty: 2ly, how we shall exactly judge of these degrees, when our judgements are wholly left at liberty, without any limits, or marks set by the Covenant. The *Scots* have proceeded so far as to imprison the Kings person, and to sequester all his royall power, which is a temporary dethroning, and deposing; because they suppose Religion, and Liberty was so far impugned by Him: but they suppose that from an Imprisoned, sequestred King no further offence, or danger can arise? and therfore He ought not further to suffer. This is sufficiendy erroneous: but this is not all yet, for they will not only thus expose Religion and Liberty to greater hazards in their own Countrey, but they will over-rule us with their errors, and inforce us to run the same hazards in our Countrey likewise: and this is more, we are sure, then the Covenant enforces us unto.

And doubtles this is very hard. For beſides that there is no Nation, nor ſcarce any individuall perſon in any Nation, who is not Judge of his own danger: in this caſe our judgement is wreſted out of our hands, and reſigned into theirs, who are the creators of our dangers, and have declared for, and thereby diverſe times exaſperated our greateſt Enemy againſt us.

In Novem. 1643. before the Covenant was conſummated, the Lord Generall *Eſſex* moved in Parliament for the ſhortning of our war, that the King (who perchance was then encouraged to prolong the ſame out of hope of Impunity at laſt, in caſe his arms ſhould miſcarry) might have a peremptory day ſet Him to come in, or elſe to know his danger: and this was conſented to by both Houſes, but obſtructed by the *Scoch* Commiſſioners: what ſervice was done to the King by this obſtruction of the *Scots*, and divers other the like ambidextrous dealings, ſince that time, and how much longer the war was protracted by it, and how much miſchief the ſame has at laſt drawn upon the *Scots*, as well as us, time has clearly enough demonſtrated. And yet ſtill, upon this the meaneſt, and moſt intricate article of the Covenant, they think they may break the unity, and peace of great Brittain againſt one of the moſt indiſputable, fundamental tyes of the Covenant, and that onely to ſhew their zeal to an Anti-covenanter: which is a breach as indiſputable, and fundamentall, as the former. The intrinſecall form of the Covenant binds one party to aſſiſt the other againſt a common enemy: it binds not one party to be aſſiſtent againſt the other: for how can that be call'd aſſiſtence, which is direct oppoſition? Beſides, it binds ſpecially to aſſiſt againſt ſuch an enemy, as is injurious to the others right, freedom, and property: and can the *Scots* perform this bond to us, when that which they call aſſiſtance to us, is oppoſition againſt us, even by taking away our right, freedome, and property? for what right can remain to us, whileſt we are ſubjected to their forces, what freedome, whileſt we are to be judged by their diſcretion? What property, when we have loſt the independency of equals? Certainly if we covenanted with the *Scots* as equall parties, we did not covenant with them, as ſuperior Judges; and if we had ſo covenanted with them, our covenanting by Oath with God had been ſuperfluous, but we hope that will not be held ſuperflous: and therefore we will not endeavour to aſſoil our ſelves

before

before the *Scots*, we will onely in charity let them know, how we have hopes, to be affoiled before God. The change of Government in *England*, which could not be without the execution of the late King, and rejection of his posterity (more then they could be without change of Government) was urged upon us (and God, before whom we plead, knows we had not long premeditated it before, nor imbraced it willingly at last) by two unanswerable, irresistable arguments. The first was drawn from our duty to God: the second from the naturall, necessary care of our own preservation. The first argument pressed us hard, that what God had commanded could not be reversed by any act, or pact of man: that God had commanded us, to punish blood with blood in all persons whatsoever under the power, and force of our Laws: and therefore our Covenant could not exempt the King himself. If it be said, that the King of *England* was above all Law; that has been disputed by the sword these many years, and decided for us by signall victories: and the *Scots* have appeared as far upon that Triall, as we have done; and after that triall, tis unequall for us to descend now, to any other. We prescribe nothing to other Nations, whose Kings have a Legislative power, and thereupon are *solati Legibus*, and have their very wils interpreted, and observed as Laws: nor do we censure such States as have Princes subject to Laws, yet use not rigor in all cases whatsoever. We are willing that every one should stand, or fall to his own Master. Onely, when immuring, sequestring, deposing, impoysoning of Princes has been very frequent in the world, that no Nation can be excused thereof at some time or other: this seems beyond admiration, that our judiciall, publick execution upon the late *Charles* should undergo an harsher censure then all these, meerly because it wanted not the due solemnities of Law, and Justice to attend it. May a Prince be reduced from his publick capacitie, and when He is made a private person shall he be treated so, as no private person may be treated? Shall he be subjected to clandestine, unlawfull proceedings, belowe the right of a common person, because He was once more then a common person? and shall either Jurists, or Statists that have any insight into the Laws of God, and Nations, stand for a secreted veiled justice, such as blushes, and dares not shew her face in open Court, yet passe neglects upon that justice, which as far abhors darkness and disdains the use of masks?

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Our next argument was drawn from the hard neceſſity that was incumbent upon us for ſaving our ſelves from utter ruin. Divers times we had made humble addreſſes to the King for a cordiall pacification, the Lord knows our ſincerity therin: and the *Scots* that are now our accuſers were for divers years our witneſſes in that behalf: but before 1646. the K. had too much confidence in his *Engliſh*, and *Iriſh* abettors, and ſo would not hearken. In the year, 1646. the Kings *Engliſh* Forces in *England* failing, we made new addreſſes at *Newcaſtle*, where the King was in the nature of a Priſoner: but we ſoon found at *Newcaſtle* that the Kings confidence was ſtill ſupported there alſo by ſomething that had been infuſed unto Him by the *Scots*, and ſo that hope prooved fruſtrate likewiſe. The dealing of the *Scots* herein was very cloſe, the *Engliſh* that were in Commiſſion with the *Scots* for governing the affairs of that Army in the *Scotch* Quarters, knew nothing by what invitation the King was drawn from *Oxford* thither, nor to what purpoſe *Montreil* the *French* Agent was there ſoliciting; but when our Propoſitions were rejected, and that the *Scots* (who joyned with us in tendring them) began to diſpute the Kings intereſts, & their own againſt us in other things: and that their learned mouth *Louden* profeſſed againſt the rigour of our capitulations, in the ſame elaborate Oration to the King, wherein He ſo zealouſly laid open the neceſſity of them, we could not but diſcern a halting in that Nation: and that that halting had as ſtrange an operation upon the King. The King thought now He had gotten as great a ſtrength of *Scots* in the *North*, the ſame being likewiſe faln away from our ſtrength, as He had loſt of the *Engliſh* at *Naſby*, and in the *Weſt*: and for our parts, had the *Scots* been gold-proof, we ſhould have thought ſo too. The diſpoſing of the King was the matter in queſtion: the *Scots* were not deſirous to take him into *Scotland*, nor would leave him in *England*: but being under our pay within our own territories, where we had publick perſons in Commiſſion with them: without the Parliaments or their Commiſſioners conſents, they would be a guard to Him in *England*, till their Parliament at home were further ſatisfied. In the mean time after a long conſuming war ended, *England* was conſtrained ſtill to pay and maintain two Armies: the *Scotch* to prevent a new war if that were poſſible, the *Engliſh* to ſuſtain a new war, if prevention proved unpoſſible: ſo that

every

every moment was irksome to us, whilst the Kings pretentions was an occasion to draw so much treasure from our coffers, and it was as irksome to the King to see the *Scotch* arrears, or any thing else besides his pretentions brought into debate, but at last the *Scotch* arrears took place, and justled out the Kings matters for after a great sum agreed upon, the *Scots* quite contrary to the high expostulations of some of their Papers, thought it honorable to leave the King in *England*, and the *English* thought it as profitable to buy the *Scots* out of *England*. This probably might prepare the King for new Pacificatory addresses, partly by damping his hopes in the *Scots*, and partly by defeating the next privy applications of the *Scots* to Him: and partly by giving a better relish of the *English* whose prisoner then He was, & yet had been treated very honorably; but this would not do, new Propositions were once and again sent, and denyed, and new assurances from the *Scots* were admitted, which procured those denyalls. Nay, after that *Hamilton* in 1648. Commission'd by the Parliament and *Presbyterians* in *Scotland*, had invaded us with 20000 men, and was beaten, and a new party of Kirkmen of a contrary party to *Hamilton*, had gotten the sway of the State into their hands, by the help of our forces who pursued the *Hamiltonians* beyond the *Tweed*; the *English* still received further repulses. So vowedly inflexible was the King against all that could be tenderd by the *English*, though even when his condition was grown lowest, and the Parliaments Propositions not at all raysd higher, and so vowedly obstinate were the *Scots*, and all parties, and factions among them upon all changes of affairs whatsoever, to make all agreements of the *English* with the King, disadvantageous to their fellow Covenanters. Their voluminous Papers yet shew what they pretended to in disposing of the Kings person in *England*: what a negative voice in the Parliament of *England* they would assign to Him: what revenues, and signiorys out of the Court of Wards and elsewhere they would secure to Him: what power military, and judiciall they would intrust him with in *England*: and how all should be managed by the joynt advice and consent of *Scotland*.

In summe, the King must again be more humbly sought to then ever: He must be discharged of imprisonment, received in pomp at *London*, to treat about what we had to propose: and his

freedome

freedome must be such that He must sent for, and advise with what Delinquents He pleasde: if we granted the *Scots* this, we left our selves nothing: if we denyed, All *Ireland* was at the Kings devotion, all *Ormonds*, all *Oneals* adherents, all the old *Irish*, all the *English Irish*: all the Protestants, all the Papists were against us: we had then scarce three considerable Towns left in that Countrey: In *Scotland* all that *Montrosse*, all that *Huntly*, all that *Hamilton*, all that *Argaile* the *Kirks* Champion had any power in, even *Jo: Cheesly* himself to get a dubbing at the last hand was for the royall Cause: In *England* the Clergie had imbitterd the City, and the City had sharpned the Countrey against the Army, and against all that had not forgotten the first quarrel with the King. The Parliament it self had some leading men in it that had secretly capitulated with the King, and those false Leaders had many other ignorant followers that would beleeve no such matter. At such a time as this, when all forrein States desired, and contributed something to our ruin besides; and the King had as free scope to sollicite and treat them as ever, and did make use of his time, especially to conclude with the *Irish*: what should the Army do? to execute the King, and eradicate Monarchy, was to expose themselves to a thousand hazards, and extremities: to spare the King, and Monarchy, and submit to the *Scoch Presbyterian* faction, was to perish inevitably: to treat with the King brought them upon this perplexity: either they must propose things safe for the State, and then they had no hopes of prevailing: or they must propose things unsafe, which would be sinfull, dishonorable, and ruinous to them, as well as others in the end. I am confident *England* never travail'd with such sharp throes, or strugled through such gasping agonies since She was first a mother: and none but God could have given her such a deliverance. When the King was retrograde to his Trust, and with the swinge of his Train had swept all the chief luminaries out of our firmament: when the Clergie was generally disaffected, and with their doctrines had almost poysoned all the City, and almost half the Countrey, when the remaining part of the Parliament that had stoodout the brunt so long, and wetherd so many gusts became recreant at last, then did an Army inspirde with strange courage but stranger counsell from above, step in to save their sinking Countrey, over-powring all the windes, and waves that raged against

against them. The wonderfull dispensations of God bringing great matters to passe by such crosse meanes must be observed, and adored by all that are not aliens from Religion: and I doubt not but future Parliaments in future ages will be amazedly affected with them: but of all men we that now live, and see the effects of that critical time, and what a prospering posture we are now in, within so short a space, in *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and round about by the seconding mercies of God since, must needs most gratfully recent these things, except we have sold our selves to Atheism & rebellion against Heaven. The Chiliasts from hence and from the race ordering of all our commotions, since, 1640. & something before may assure themselves that Christ is to reign upon Earth, and that he ha's already taken the Scepter out of the greater Warriors and Counsellors hands of the earth into his own: For the hills are now plained, and the vallies are raised, and yet there is no humane hand appearing in it.

Some men thinke all successe unworthy of all regard, as if there were no difference between the administrations of God in his Church in times of distresse, and his disposing of other mens ordinary affaires at other times: or as if *Alexander*, *Hector*, *Cæsar*, had foyled their enemy by the same inward promptings as *Joshua*, *David*, and *Judas Machabeus* did: but this certainly is an irreligious error: for as there is a generall providence of God by which the course of all naturall things is steered: so there uses to be a speciall interposition of God in some things and is to be acknowledged, when his owne honour and interest is specially concerned: and this speciall interposition is sometimes of the finger of God, when the effects are lesse supernaturall; but when the effects are more stupendious, and beyond reason; the Scripture it selfe stiles this the making bare, and the stretching forth of Gods arme.

They which are disaffected to the late egregious proceedings of God in the world will not, but they shall see, and owne this truth. But let us returne to the procedure of our affaires; when the Army saw it selfe surrounded with so many dangers, and insulting enemies; it began by some faintnesses, and carnall doubts to grow dangerous, and an enemy to it self; it began to receive suggestions that the removing of a King and Kingly power was like to prove more unfeaseable, then to treat a King into reason.

And this was likely to have proved the more baneſull, becauſe the King by ſpeciall graces was as ready to draw them into this ambuſcado as they were prone by their irreſolutions, and diffidencies to run into it themſelves; for 'tis thought all agreements with the King would have been ſhort lived, but if any had been made with the Army, that would have bin but as *Samſons* withs, and ropes, which was the reaſon, That the King, upon whom Five Addreſſes of the Parliament had wrought nothing, ſeemed to lay the Armies Propoſals, though little differing in ſubſtance, exceedingly to heart: Howſoever it pleaſed God at this low ebbe of things, when the Army was weakeſt, and moſt apt to be inveagled, and when the King was ſecureſt, and had moſt hopes to inveagle, to break off that Treaty, and then was brought on the laſt with the Parliament in the Iſle of *Wight*; which when it was likely to overturne all by accepting of the Kings Conceſſions; then alſo did God make the Army his Inſtrument, in preventing that ſad concluſion. The debate in Parliament after the returne of the Commiſſioners, was; Whether the Kings Conceſſions at that Treaty had been ſuch, as might make further applications hopefull, or no: and after a very long time ſpent, the affirmative was Voted. This Vote ſtruck a true apprehenſion of an univerſall imminent danger into the Army; for, now an accord with the King by the ſenſe of the Parliament was to be hoped for, whereas in truth any accord (beſides an abſolute ſubmiſſion of the King) was ſufficient to take away all hope; for ſince the King unſubmitting, had no viſible obſtacle betwixt him, and his long, cagerly purſued ends, but the Army: and any accord was certaine to diſcard, or new form that Army, the ſecurity of all our Laws, and rights; yea, and lives was ſolely to depend upon the Kings Honour: and what was honour in his ſenſe, who was ſo principled, and who had now for diverſe yeares waded through ſo much bloud, and expoſed himſelf, and poſterity to ſo certain a diſinheriſon, only to be true to his principles, any ordinary man may determine; Immediatly therfore after this Vote paſt, the Army ſaw no other remedy to prevent their eminent overthrow but to lay a hand of force upon the affirmative Voters in Parliament, and to bring the King to a tryall, which were done accordingly, and ſo boththey prevail'd and we were preſerved as tothis day.

Some

Some say twas more Noble to trust the King too much, then too little: but these consider not that Trust is not always alike free; in this case distrust could ruin but a few, and that by a legall course; but Trust was likely to have ruin'd Millions, and the Laws to boot. Some of the Scotts say; God was able to save Religion and Liberty in despight of the King: had he prov'd perfidious, and therefore if the King was not to be trusted, yet God was. These consider not that God holds himselfe tempted, not trusted, when we leave the use of ordinary hopefull meanes on Earth, and rely upon unprovmist succour from Heaven.

Some say if the King was not to be trusted, yet the Army had no lawfull warrant to judge of him, and the Parliament, but these consider not that extream, eminent, and otherwise insuperable dangers give private persons; yea, single private persons, an extraordinary warrant to defend themselves, and others: and this Warrant will be avowed by necessity, the exception, that all Law admits to be within the reach of no Law; and the danger was here extream, because it concerned Life, Religion, Liberty, and all that could be endeared to man: it was likewise eminent, because another day might have prevented them by disbanding, or some other way. Lastly, it was otherwise insuperable; for that there was no other Judge, or hand on Earth, that could hear and relieve them. Others say still, the danger was not so existent or manifest to other men, as to the Army. Let it be considered by these;

1 That Nature has entrusted to every man a speciall custody of his owne safety; and there is none of us all, but would be loath that the same should be transferred to another mans care, *viz.* in cases extraordinary, where legall remedy cannot be had in a common way.

2 In matters of fact, where no full proof can be had, every mans judgement is to be lesse peremptory, and to take in as much of Charity as is possible. Whether the King would indeed have broken his Trust, or no: and whether the Army did falsly pretend such a fear, or no: neither of these is matter of Law, nor liable to any infallible proof, as to the fact: wherefore I may sin against charity if I passe my judgement against either, but I cannot sin, if I leave the judgement of both to God, and to waite for his determination.

Some in favor of the King frame conjectures that He was probably very firme in performing becauſe He was ſo ſlow, and circumſpect in ingaging: and that if He had been lubricous or profuſe of his faith, He would not have refuſed an accord with the Parliament ſo long upon what tearms ſoever. Others make uſe of contrary conjectures to a contrary purpoſe; alleadging that 'twas but art in the King to dally, and to trifle away ſome time with the Engliſh, to ſet the higher eſteem upon his conſtancy, and make them the more aſſured of his performance: that He was abſolutely ſecure of the Engliſhmens facility, and plain-dealing, and never made any doubt to be received at his own pleaſure: that he was never to his laſt day void of other confidences, or deſtitute of other plots to compaſſe his deſigne by force, that for his fidelity, and the value he ſet upon promiſes and oaths, and the infinite ſubtilty he had to evade any ingagement whatſoever, ſcarce any forraign State or Prince in *Europe* was ignorant in that point. That ſcarce ever any juſt, or innocent man fell under the weight of ſuch tranſcendent, unparraleld calamities. But I liſt not to leane upon ſuch Reeds, as conjectures are; tis enough for me to know that whatſoever man intends, or acts wickedly and perverſly, God orders, and diſpoſes rightly, and profitably; may he ſo do for *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, in all theſe late mutations.

It remains now, that we cleer our ſelves in point of Church-Reformation: for having covenanted to reform in Doctrine, Diſcipline, &c. according to the word of God, and the patterns of the beſt Reformed Churches, we are bound (as the *Scots* maintain) to take our pattern from them, and that, we, as yet refuſe to do. This is the grand, and moſt heynous charge the *Scots* have againſt us: and becauſe we follow not the modell of *Scotland*, which they hold the beſt Reformed Church in *Chriſtendom*, they ſeek to overwhelm us with a thouſand calumnies, and labour to poſſeſſe the world that wee are nothing elſe but a Lerna of Hereſies, and a ſinck of all uncleanneſſe.

To this we anſwer,

1. When wee are bound to reform according to the word of God, and the examples of the beſt Churches; wee conceive the word of God ſignifies all, & the examples of other Churches ſignifie nothing at all; for thoſe are the beſt Churches that reform

neereſt

neereſt to the word of God, and what Churches have neereſt Reformed cannot be known but by the word of God it ſelf, ſo that that inſtance might have been ſpared.

2. If it come to tryal by the word of God, whether the *Scots* Reformation be the beſt or no, the *Scots* therein can challenge no more privilledg of judging, then we or any other Church. When we were governed by Biſhops, the Goſpel of Chriſt was as purely delivered in *England*, and as heartily embraced by the *Engliſh* (any being Judges beſides the *Scots*) as ever it was in *Scotland*: and ſhall it be ſaid, that becauſe wee have caſt off Biſhops, and thereby come ſome ſteps neerer to the *Scots*, our Doctrine remaining ſtill the ſame without all innovation, ſhall it be ſaid that our very approaches have caſt us backward? It will be required at their hands who are intruſted with the government of Chriſts Church, that his word and Ordinances be piouſly and duly diſpenſed: and it will be required at their hands who are governed, that the diſpenſation of Chriſts words and Ordinances be faithfully and ſincerely entertained: but if the Governors rightly diſcharge their duty, and the governed fail of theirs, the Governors ſhall not anſwer for what they cannot help; 'tis God that gives the encreaſe, and does the ſaving, inward work: the Miniſter cannot go beyond planting, watering, and doing that which is the outward work. 'Tis one thing therefore for the *Scots* to upbraid the Flock, and another thing to upbraid the Overſeers of the Flock, and yet the *Scots* conſtantly take an advantage againſt us by confounding theſe two things.

For the people of *England*, we muſt confeſſe they have been of late too much tainted with Hereſies, and monſtrous opinions: *pudet hæc opprobria nobis, & dici potuiſſe, & non potuiſſe refelli:* I hope all good men are grieved and humbled for it; but let the *Scots* conſider,

1. That growing of Tares in Gods Field, does not alwayes ſhew that the Husband-man ſowed ill grain, the contrary rather is true: inaſmuch as the more buſie the good Husband-man is culturing and improving the Earth, the more ſollicitous ever the Enemie is in caſting in his malignant ſeeds, & the more readily eager he is to deboſh & mar the crop. It was ſo with the Church of Chriſt in it's Infancy; it was ſo under *Conſtantine* in it's maturity; it was ſo in *Luthers* dayes, when it began to recover out

of

of a long lethargy: and we muſt expect the like now, when our aces are ſet upon the laſt, and greateſt calcination as ever the Church ſaw: as Reformation now in the ends of the world, when the chiefe myſteries of iniquity begin to be revealed, will moſt annoy Sathan, ſo Sathan will double his rage to annoy us accordingly. *Hornius* the *Dutch-man*, a great friend of the *Scots*, and who in favour of the *Scotch* Presbytery, has written a bitter Tract in *Latine*, to defame us in *Germany*; after he has repreſented us as the moſt leprous, contaminated Nation in the world; yet confeſſes withall, that to the prodigious revoltings of ſome amongſt us, there is an anſwerable improvement of others in burning zeale, and ſhining ſanctity. In Religion beauty and deformity are not inconſiſtent: thoſe times often which have been moſt glorious for divine diſpenſations of knowledge and grace, have been likewiſe moſt deplorable for perſecutions and apoſtacies; and this has ever been a great ſtumbling block to carnall minds. If therefore the great Lyon range and roare, and ramp leſſe in *Scotland* then in *England*, let not our Brethren boaſt of it, or think themſelves the more ſafe.

2. Let not partiality blind the *Scots*; Strangers think *Scotland* ha's as great cauſe of humiliation as *England*, if not greater. *Iliacos intra muros peccatur, & extra*; It were more Chriſtian-like in them, and leſſe Phariſaicall, to aggravate their own ſins, and extenuate other mens, then to extenuate their own ſins, and aggravate other mens: and if they wil remit nothing at all of their rigour againſt us, yet let them not ſtuffe their long catalogues of Pſeudodoxies with ſuch wandring terms as *Familiſme*, *Eraſtianiſme*, *Independentiſme*, &c. which taken improperly, may reach the beſt Saints of God, and are ſeldome uſed properly by any. 'Tis a ſad thing to offend Gods little ones, 'tis a more ſad thing to deprave many congregations of Gods moſt precious ones.

3. Whatſoever judgement the *Scots* will take upon them to paſſe againſt the people in *England*, yet let them not alway ſet upon the Magiſtrates, or Miniſters account what they find reprovable in the people; let them not call us fedifragous for not redreſſing things beyond us, and ſuch as none can redreſſe beſides God; but this has been toucht upon already.

Let us therefore ſee what is peculiarly objected to the preſent governing power in *England*. The Magiſtrate in *England* is charged

ged to be an Enemie to Magistracy, a strange charge certainly. The very last answers we had this last Summer to our Declarations upon the march of our Army into *Scotland*, tell us from the Committee of *Estates*, and Commissioners of the *Assembly*, that our expedition into *Scotland* is to overturn Religion, and government Civill and Ecclesiasticall, and to set up amongst them the same vast toleration of Religion, as we have done in *England*. Now if this were true, the sins of the People would become the sins of the Magistrate, but what credite can this obtain in the world. As for the overturning of civill power, that is answered already; we confesse a change of the Form, but we deny any overturning of the thing cal'd Government in *England*; and wee hope our actions here, and in *Ireland*, and in other Forreign parts, yea, & our War in *Scotland* also will quit and cleare us of anarchy and ere long make the *Scots* swallow downe their own untruths with open shame. As for the overturning Ecclesiasticall also, that may be as resolutely and justly denyed as the other; for that lawfull power which was in Bishops before, is still in being; and though we have not committed it so intirely unto Presbyteries and Assemblies, as the *Scots* would have us, to the dishonouring of our *Common wealth*; yet we have preserved it from abolition and utter dissolution. The truth is, in pursuance of our *Covenant*, we have consulted with a Synod of Divines about the best method of Discipline: and they are not able to satisfie us, that the word of God (the rule limited by the *Covenant* for our Reformation) does invest any convention of Clergy-men, who claim to be the only due Representants of the Church, and immediate Vice-gerents of Christ, with supremacy of independent power in all causes Ecclesiasticall. The Pope claims no more in the pale of the *Italian* Church; the Popish Cardinals and Bishops in *Spain*, *France*, &c. claim lesse; and the Protestant Prelates, whom we lately ejected for Usurpers, never claimed halfe so much. Now the word of God is so farre from holding forth to us any such vast power in persons Ecclesiasticall; that it's information is contrary, *viz.* That the Apostles and Disciples of our Saviour for many years after his death assumed no more Authority on earth then he assumed: that our Saviour plainly disclaimed all jurisdiction and dominion in this world; that by practise as well as precept, he quasht all rivality

vality about power, or precedence amongst his own dearest followers. Besides, if any such spirituall supremacy were vested by divine right in any such Representants of the Church, and vicars of Christ: it were necessary that exact obedience in all things should be payd them by all Inferiours: and if such obedience were due, it would be consequently necessary, that they should be free from errour, else the alleadged supremacy would serve to no great purpose: and we know God and nature produce not great matters, but for purposes as great. This made the Romish Hierarchists rationally assert an infallible spirit, when they had once asserted an ilimitable power in the Church; for where the Scripture is clear, there needs no soveraign Judg, every man is a sufficient Interpreter to himselfe: and where the Scripture is doubtfull, the doubt is to be cleared by something else of the same indisputable authority, or else that defect is not supplyed, nor can the same submission be demanded. Wherefore upon this account we say, that unlesse our supream Church Lords (when they take us off from our own judgments, & cannot convince us by divine authority of cleer Scripture) wil not convince us of some other divine authority in themselves of the same alloy as Scripture is for the inforcing of our acquiescence: they deale worse with us then the Pope does with his Vassals. Moreover that power in the Church, which Eclipses, and perturbes civill power cannot be supposed to be of Christs institution: but such is the power of the Clergy in *Scotland* many ways; *Ergo*,

For first clashings may be about what is purely a Civill case, and what is purely Ecclesiasticall, and all such clashings are exceeding dangerous.

2 Since there are very few cases that are not mixt, and as few mixt cases that are not unequally mixt: great questions may arise, to whether Tribunall the case shall be first refer'd when it is equally mixt; and how the Tribunalls shall agree upon executing their decrees, where the case is unequally mixt, especially if the decrees be contrary, as they may be. In the year 1648. the Representative State of *Scotland*, Voted a war with *England* necessary: the Representative *Kirk* Voted the same unlawfull; which contrary Votings might have confounded both, for if the war was necessary, the State might suffer much by the Churches seditious malediction; and if the war was unlawfull, yet the

people

people having no more warrant to obey the Ecclesiasticall then Civill power in matters of that nature must needs be in a strange distraction, and that distraction at that time might have created ethquakes in the whole Nation. It should seem want of force in the party adhering to the *Kirk* preserved them at that time from a bloodie ingagement against the contrary party, which might have devoured, and swallowed up all. For as soon as *Hamilton* was defeated in *England*, the *Kirk* party got help from the *English* Army, and by force wrested the Government out of *Lannericks* hands: and then again had not *Lannericks* side been too weak, another flame might have been kindled, and perhaps have continued unquenched to this day. Now if the temporal sword be in part spirituall, and the cases of warre be held so equally mixt in *Scotland*, that both the supreme independent Councels claim an equall judgement in them, and do sometimes judge contrarily: and there can be yet no certain rule given for the reconciling of those contrarieties: it is manifest, that these two coordinate powers may be destructive to the people: and it is as manifest that no destructive institution can derive it self from God. Much more might be said of the encroachments of the Clergie upon the Laity in cases mixt, by pretending sometimes to an equality of interest in some cases, where the Laities ought to be greater: and pretending to all at other times, where the Laities interest ought to be equall: the Popish Clergie scarce ever used more jugling and trumperie in these affairs, then the *Presbyterian Ministery* now uses. In the stating of the present war in *Scotland*, the Kirkmen go hand in hand with the *Committee of Estates*, and in their Answers to our *English* Declarations they interpose in all points whatsoever, whether religious, politick, juridicall, or military: and whether they be points of Law, or matters of fact. But if a Minister preach sedition in a Pulpit, this appertains not to the secular Magistrate; for though sedition be a secular busines, and sedition may be preacht by a Minister in a Pulpit, yet a Ministers Pulpit sedition is no matter for secular cognizance. Was the Laity ever worse bridled, when it was the Popes Asse? But of this no more, I will onely touch briefly upon the end of all this spirituall coordination, and so shut up this point.

The Clergie of *Scotland* have spoken great, and magnificent things of the use of their spirituall sword: and the principall

allegation for it was, that without such a sword in the hands of the *Kirk* secular Princes, and Grandees could not be awed, and restrained in many enterprises, and crimes very dangerous to the Church. But who can imagine they ever beleeved themselves herein? when in the processe of all our late wars, that very *Kirk* it self which told the King He was guilty of a deluge of blood, and had made himself, and his throne, and his posterity obnoxious to Gods high indignation thereby, yet never offered to strike with the weapon of excommunication all that while? if there was any correcting, restraining, healing, recovering vertue in that weapon, why did they uncharitably forbear to use it? why did they not pitie those multitudes of Innocents that perished daily under his fury? why did they suffer the King himself to run on, and die in his persecutions? And if their pretended weapon had really no such vertue in it, why do they brandish it so ludicrously onely to dazle our weak eyes?

The next Objection of the *Scots* is, that we have not onely sequestred a great part of Christs spirituall power, and detained it in Lay hands, but have also abused the same power; tolerating thereby, and countenancing all manner of heresies, which is directly contrary to our covenanted Reformation.

Our Answer is, that we are neither intensively, nor extensively lyable indeed to this objection. For, 1. all sects, and scandals are not permitted by us: nothing is more distant from truth, then this suggestion. All grosse sins, and seducers are suppresst with as quick severity as ever: nay since the *Norman* Conquest there have not been so many sharp Laws made against Adultery, Swearing, blaspheming, Sabbath-breaking, and open prophanation, as have been made within these few yeers. All the remission, and relaxation that our Parliament has indulged of late is only towards tender Consciences, where men comport themselves civilly, and inoffensively towards their neighbours, and attempt to innovate nothing in the Church for perturbing of Religion; and even in this also we have not extended our indulgence so far as the united States of the *Netherlands* have, and divers other Protestant Princes in *Germany*. The truth is, we do not finde such danger in Erastianisme, Independentisme, Anabaptisme, Roundheadisme, &c. as our rigid *Presbyterians* suspect: and this would not dislike the *Presbyterians* themselves, if they were men willing

to

to do to others, as they are willing others should do to them: for they themselves are sensible, that we can never desire more gentlenesse from them to us, then is now shewed by us to them. 2ly, That toleration which we are accused of, is but a non persecution in its most intensive degree: for we use all Christian means, besides force, to reduce such as wander, and divide from us: and we are far from cherishing schismes and broyls either in Church, or State. Our Saviours own parable allows us where weeds have gotten head, and are as numerous as the standing corn, rather to spare the weeds for the corns sake, then to indanger the corn for the weeds sake. Howsoever, it would be some charity in our traducers, if they would advisedly consider how the growth of our weeds came at first to be so rank amongst us: and thereupon joyn with us in humiliation for it, not exult over us in scorn, and derision.

Upon the first defiance given by the King to the Parliament, half the Clergie at least fell away from this cause: and before that rent could be sowde up, there happened a second distance betwixt us, and the *Scots* partly upon a royal, and partly an Ecclesiasticall account, and that distance drew on as great a revolt of the Clergie as the former. And how can any man imagine, but that strange disorders must needs follow and abound in a Church so deserted? When the dressers of the Vineyard do not ~~onely quit their charge, but~~ throw down the mounds, how can it be expected but that Bores and Foxes should break in? And indeed the Parliament is still ill beset, for either they must deny preaching to the people, to three parts of foure, or else they must yeeld the Pulpits to their seditious Enemies: and to such as shall seek to wound the Magistrate through the soals of the people. This being the Parliaments hard case, it may better become the *Scots*, to whom may be attributed a great part of these disturbances, to afford some pitie, and help, then to adde miserie to our miserie.

This is sufficient to plead for our indulgence, let us onely advise the *Presbyterians* not to take unjust offence thereat, or to stumble into the contrary extreme. 'Tis wofull to see how rigidly the Ministers carrie themselves towards the poore people in many places, and what an absolute discretionarie power they challenge in many places over the ordinances of God. There are ma-

ny Parishes in *England* where the people have not been admitted to the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, nor some Infants to the Sacrament of Baptisme for a long time. This deserves much bewailing; for certainly God gave these rich Legacies to the diffusive body of his Church, for the spirituall comfort of the meanest servants of his, and not to that which cals it self his representative body, to be a trade, and monopolie for their advantage in this world. But I have done: if the world now finde cause to condemne us of dealing treacherously with the *Covenant*, and our fellow-Covenanters, in that we have not submitted to the *Scots*, and for their sakes disclaimed our own judgements and interests to gratifie the King, and the Presbyterian Clergie, with our perpetuall servility: let us fall under their condemnation. Or if the world can justifie the *Scots* as pursuers of that union, freedome, and fidelity which was aimed at in the *Covenant*, when they made themselves our Lords to give us Laws in our own Dominions, and when they did not onely raise sedition here in our own bowels, but came in with an Army of 20000. men to devour us: let them stand upright here, and injoy their wished Triumph. Our finall assurance, and comfort is, there sits a Judge in heaven, who can neither deceive, nor be deceived, a Judge that hears all appeals, made above, and does right at last to all that groane under oppression, and injustice belowe.

Of the Scoch Warre.

VVEe have seen how the *Covenants* waxen nose has been turned and moulded into many forms: wee see now cause to suspect, that 'twas made so large at first, and compacted of such materials, that like the *Grecian* wooden Horse, it might tear our walls the wider upon its entrance, and discharge the more discords, and dissentions amongst us after its entrance was procured. We see it was intended by the honest party in *England* for cement to unite the Nations in a more arct, faithfull confederation, then ever our Ancestors knew: but the couching of it was obscure, and left liable to so many false glosses, that it soon became Μῆλον Ἐριδος. Our brotherly offices of Assistance soon degenerated

nerated into harsh expostulations: harsh expostulations begat secreet feudes, and secreet feudes heightned themselves into open hostilities.

The question is only, when open war commenced betwixt these Nations, Whether the *Scots* first invaded us by their Duke *Hamilton*, above two years since, or whether the *English* first invaded *Scotland* this last summer under the command of the Lord Gen. *Cromwell*. For a year or two after reception of the *Covenant* in *England*, a good correspondence was kept betwixt us: the *Scotch* Commissioners sat in our Committee of Lords and Commons at *Darby house*, whereby they were admitted into the knowledge of our highest and secretest affaires, and had opportunity to frame parties amongst us for promoting of their own Interests. Out of these kindnesses sprung our first unkindnesses, for the more honour was given to the *Scots*, the more still they thought was due, and the more they thought was due, the worse use they made of all that was or could be given them. So all jealousies could not long be suppresst, for in time some of our Lords and Commons saw cause to conceale some things concerning this State from them, and this was extreamly ill taken, and indeed no otherwise then if it had been a reall piece of injustice to the Kingdom of *Scotland*; but moderation as yet kept both within reasonable bounds. Mr. *A. Henderson* was then living, and conversant in those businesses, and surely he was a man of an Apostolicall spirit, and though a great lover of his Countrey, yet He knowingly durst not interpose in an ill action, for his Countreys advantage: and I am perswaded He did very good offices and kept us from further jars during his life: and if He had lived longer, would have prevented much of what has hapned since. Besides, *Presbytery* the *Scotch* Clergies darling seemd plausible at first to the *English*, and soon grew indeared to our Synod, and for a good space it got such footing in *England*, that the *Scots* had no cause of dissatisfaction in that behalf. The King also the other darling of the *Scotch* Nation, till about the latter end of Summer 1645. prosperd so that He more slighted the *Scots* then He did us, and so about him, there was no great cause of animosities: and if any did appear, they were more easily to be digested; But when the *English* Army under the Lord Gen. *Fairfax* had in one Summer defeated, and utterly broken two very great Armies of the Kings,

and

and taken in divers other considerable Cities, and strengths without any help at all from the *Scots*, many emulous considerations began to breed strange alienations in the hearts of our brethren. The easie warfare of the *Scots* all this while had afforded them, besides good store of pay and plunder, an absolute signiory over the Northerne Counties (our Northerne men tell us wofull stories till this day) and now they saw that rich service, or rather absolute dominion was likely to come to an end, they thought fit to strengthen themselves in *Berwick* and *Newcastle*, and they got *Carlile* also by very foul play in spight of our Commissioners, as if they were resolved and certain to have a dispute with us. Likewise in 1646. when *Oxford* grew straitned, and unsafe to the King, and when it was visible also that *Presbytery* after so many years experience, did not altogether rellish with the *English*, the *Scots* presently resolved (as was related before) to expound the *Covenant* in favour of the King, at least for setling and securing their arrears, and making a commodious retreat out of *England*. Accordingly that Article which provided for the Kings interest, served their interest wel enough, and war so well commented upon by them, that it held us at a bay, till their contract was perfected, and then after a long dispute very chargeable to our Nation at the instance of an Army, and 200000 *li.* they delivered up *Newcastle*, *Barwick* and *Carlile*, and took time to study the Kings Article a little longer.

In the year 1647. there was no notable businesse for the Souldier, *England* took a little breath, having nothing to do but to squench the few remainders of war, and *Scotland* kept at home to share the late gotten spoiles of *England*; yet this year there past some new cajoleries betwixt the *Scots* and the King, and some contests betwixt the *Scots*, and us about the King: and no doubt, the next years action was now in forging, and all preparatory hammers were on working.

And now enters the memorable year of 1648. a year never to be forgotten by the *English*, in regard of the unparralleld dangers that then overspread it, and the unspeakable mercies of God that then protected it. All the enemies of this poore *Commonwealth* were now in a solemn conjuration against it. In *Ireland* all was held past recovery: *Ormond* the Parliaments revolted servitor, was complying with the bloody *Irish*, and betraying his own

Religion

Religion into the bargain to get ſome of their forces into *England*: in *Wales*, in *Kent*, in *Eſſex*, in *Surrey*, great bodies of men roſe up, ſome upon the old Royall account, ſome upon a new, whilſt many alſo of the Navy fell away from the Parliament to make the caſe the more deſperate. No leſſe then 40000 *Engliſh* did their endeavours this Summer to make way for *Hamilton*, from whom (by good intelligence doubtles) they expected 20000 *Scots*. Great was the goodneſs of God that all theſe confederates could not be in a readineſs at one and the ſame time, and that all the Forreign Princes round about us which favoured them, could not be aſſiſtent to them that yeer: God had ſo ordained it, that the *Welſh* ſhould be reduced before the *Scots* entred, or elſe our condition had been altogether hopeleſſe in the eye of reaſon. But to the *Scoch* buſineſſe. The *Solemn League, and Covenant* was now brought under a new debate in the Parliament of *Scotland:* and the main matter in queſtion was, how they could be abſolved of that holy ſtipulation, if they did not imploy all their power to reform Religion, and to reſtore the King in *England:* and for the fuller agitation, and ventilation of this matter, ſeverall grave harangues by perſons affected ſeverally were dreſt, and we may well imagine to what effect. A gent: of the *Kirks* party ſeeing the Parliament filled with ſo great a party of the *Hamiltonians* is ſuppoſed to begin.

My Lords and Gentlemen: The Covenant preſſes us all to endeavour the reformation of Religion, and the reſtauration of the King in England *by a brotherly way of Aſſiſtance in our ſeverall places, and callings: and ſo, as that theſe ends of the* Covenant, *may ſtand, and agree with all the reſt. But withall, it behoves us to uſe a great deal of caution, and circumſpection in a matter of ſo high importance, wherein the honour of God, and good of the Nations is ſo religiouſly involved, not to be miſtaken either in the mark we all ſhoot at, or in the arrows we are to ſhoot. As for the point of Religion I am perſwaded, it wants reformation in* England, *and I beleeve I diſſent not therein from any here: but this ſcruple ſticks by me: I doubt whether I am ſo properly a Judge in* England *of Religion, as I am in* Scotland, *and if I am not; then I fear I ſtep out of my place, and calling, whileſt I take upon me there to reform by force, which ſure the Covenant requires not, but excludes in expreſſe terms. The account of my ſcruples I give thus: firſt, if we are new judges of matters Eccleſiaſticall in* England. *we are ſo conſtituted by the* Covenant, *for before the* Covenant *we pretended to no*

ſuch

uch thing and in the Covenant *it ſelf, I finde no ſuch conſtituting words.* 2ly. *if the* Covenant *creates us Judges in caſes Eccleſ: it creates us the ſame in all other things civil, military, and judiciall: for all the inte-reſts of the King, and Subjects in Parliament: and out of Parliament: are incloſed within the verge of the* Covenant: *and yet no man here ſuppoſes himſelf bound by any words of the* Covenant *to look after the whole adminiſtration of juſtice, and the whole managery of the government in* England *or els to ſtand anſwerable for all abuſes whatſoever, that are not there redreſſed.* 3ly. *If the* Covenant *give us a power ſo large in* England, *it muſt by the ſame reaſon give the* Eng: *the ſame in* Scotland: *for the bonds are equall, and reciprocall: and ſo here are diſcords raiſed betwixt us, contrary to the principall drift of the* Covenant, *ſuch as never can be pacified: the ſword it ſelf can never give any deciſion in the buſines; victory may take away equallity betwixt.* 2. *brethren: but meer victory can never take away the true right of equallity.* 4ly. *The* Covenant *injoynes us preciſely to aſſiſt one another in reforming, now the word aſſiſtence intimates a concurrence with the party covenanting againſt ſome joynt oppoſer, it cannot be forced to intimate any violence againſt the party covenanting.* 5ly, *Not onely the tenor of the whole* Covenant, *but alſo the particular clear purport of the fifth Article in the* Covenant *mainly intends to tye a firmer, cloſer knot of union, and conjunction betwixt the Nations, then ever was before: and therefore to reſcinde a knot ſo manifeſt upon expoſitions, and gloſſes of things not manifeſt ſeems to me to be a wilfull violation of the* Covenant. *As to the other point about the Kings inlargement: much may be reſumed of what I ſaid before againſt our judging in* England: *but I forbear that: the ſcruples that here ſuggeſt themſelves to me are theſe.* 1. *If the Kings liberty may not be reſtrained, then neither any other of his royall prerogatives, honours, and powers: and yet we our ſelves hold all theſe here under ſequeſtration, and for divers yeares of late, we have entred upon, and adminiſtred the whole royall Office our ſelves: ſhall we then maintaine, that the K: has a right to that in* England, *to which He has no right in* Scotland. 2ly, *If the K: has a right now to his Liberty being amongſt the* Engliſh: *it will follow upon the ſame reaſon that He had a right to the ſame, two years ſince when he was in our Quarters at Newark, and Newcaſtle: yet all men will ſay: amongſt us He had no command at all, but was under ſuch a guard, as had a ſtrict charge of his perſon, and were as rigorouſly anſwerable for the ſame, as any Jaolers whatſoever. Beſides, all men know He was by us delivered up to the Engliſh againſt his will: and that upon contract, and valuable conſiderations: and that we could not have juſtified, if we had*

thought

thought he was at full liberty, and could not be thereof abridged.

Thirdly. *A speciall Article in our Covenant obliges us to bring all enemies of the Covenant to condigne punishment: and we do punish daily capitally such of the Kings adherents as have offended against us by his Commissions, and shall we think that death is due to the Actor, and instrument, when imprisonment is not due to the Author and principall?*

Fourthly. *If we dispute not about the Kings imprisonment, but as it is such; that is, as he is imprison'd by the Souldiery in* England *without consent of the Parliament there: then do we take upon us to vindicate the consent of that Parliament, without consent of that Parliament: And since we hear not that there is any change of the Kings restraint, save onely of the persons under whom he is restrained, nor do the Parliament in* England *think fit to use force, nor to desire our assistance therein, I doubt if we should obtrude our force therin without any call, we should offend against another proviso in the Covenant, by intrenching upon the Parliaments priviledge there, and by invading the Subjects property likewise, which the charge of this war must necessarily draw after it. These things deserve a sober deliberation before we resolve upon the justice of this war: but then the justice being cleered, yet I conceave we are bound to all mankind, much more Christians and brethren in Covenant, to give what evidence we can of the justice of our cause, that if possible they may be convinced, and do right before blood be shed. And since the Parliament of* England, *upon reports of our preparations ha's dispatcht Commissioners hither to treat about all points in difference, and we specially by Treaty were held to send the like to them, and after all to give three months previous warning, before we could have recourse to the Sword: I hope no man here will offer any thing against a Treaty with the* English *Commissioners, that satisfaction before blood may be either given, or taken: and if not, yet the due space of warning may be observed; if we should faile herein, I fear we should proclaim our selves to the world abusive simulatory pretenders of the Covenant, only to prophane the high Gods Name to whom we have all lifted up our false hands. Next, since the* English *in observance of their faith to us, ingaged freely for our better assurance in them, have left their Frontire Towns* Berwick *and* Carlisle *ungarrison'd, notwithstanding the notice they have of our present posture: I hope we shall scorne to make their plaindealing with us a snare to themselves; and thinke to chastise their fidelity with our infidelity, at such a time as this is, when we wage war with holy thoughts, and only for religious purposes.*

And laſtly, ſince we are to engage out of pure conſcience to the ends of the Covenant, one whereof is to bring all enemies of the ſame Covenant to a legall triall, I hope we ſhall not receive Langdale, *and the reſt of the* Engliſh *Fugitives, whoſe Swords have drawne much bloud of Covenanters to fight under our* Covenanters *banners. This will convince us of inſincerity before men, this will provoke the eyes of Gods jealouſie againſt us in the day of Battail; God muſt be ſerved juſtly, as wel as in juſt actions, and when bloud is the meane, and holineſſe the end, God uſes to be more jealous, and expects more exactneſſe then ordinarily: Oh let not any occaſion be given by a Parliament of* Scotland *to lay ſtumbling blocks before others; let not the world ſay we wreſt the Covenant to what ſence we pleaſe, and uſe it as the Papiſt do the word of God: the caſe is of grand conſequence, it may concerne us and our poſterity for ever, I pray let it be throughly ſcand and ſifted.*

Hereunto a Gentleman of *Hamiltons* party may be ſuppoſed to anſwer:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

YOu have heard it granted, that Religion in *England* wants Reformation, and that the King ought to be ſet free from his forced durance under the Souldier: you have heard likewiſe granted, that our Solemn League and Covenant requires theſe things to be done: but divers ſcruples have been caſt in withall, about the manner of doing theſe things, in regard that a *juſte* is required, as well as a *juſtum*. The main thing is, that we are not qualified by the Covenant to do theſe honorable things in *England*: Alas, if the Covenant does not add any new qualification to us to ſerve Religion, and our King: I hope no man will ſuſpect that it takes away any ſuch qualification from us as we had before: And I hope thers no man here but thinks before any Covenant taken he had a warrant and capacity good enough to do honorable ſervice to his Religion, and his native Prince: Let me ſpeak plainly, and bluntly, I doubt theſe ſcruples do not ariſe againſt us, as we are *Scotch men*, and ſo have no power of judging in *England*, but rather as we are of ſuch a party in *Scotland*, that the *Kirk* dares not confide in us: & this is lamentable halting before God. Let us not therfore be driven into any unmanly irreſolution by logicall nicities, and School-puntilioes: let us beleeve that ſuch juſt ends as we aime at inſerving our God and Prince have juſt avenues belonging to them, and

that

that God ha's not hedgd in, or inſcons'd goodneſſe from the approaches of men, as he did once the Tree of Life. My Lord, and Gentlemen; ſhall pure reformed Religion want an Advocate in this preſence? no: it were labour loſt here to recommend the excellencies of her; you all are confident you cannot, but be certaine that God hath rather ſent a Cherubim to invite and waft you to her aſſiſtance in *England*, then to affright you and drive you from her embraces with a flaming Sword. Then, as for the King, you have a greater intereſt in him then the *Engliſh* have, and he ought to have a greater intereſt in you, then he has in the *Engliſh*: Let me tell you if you ſhould prove oblivious of his favours, he might upraid divers of you with your Fields and Vineyards, as *Saul* did once his *Benjamites*. Do we not all know, that his graces towards us ha's made him the leſſe acceptable to the *Engliſh*? and does not the whole world taxe us of our ill requitall at *Newcaſtle*? I ſpeake of that in your ears: what can be ſaid then, either we muſt requite him better, and acquit our ſelves better now, or all generations to come will call us ungratefull and unjuſt; and for my part I cannot ever conſtrue the Covenant as that it intends to render us ungratefull or unjuſt. Tis true the enterpriſe we goe upon muſt coſt blood, and fall heavie upon ſome of our fellow Covenanters in *England*: it were elſe impoſſible almoſt, it ſhould be great and honorable: let this be our comfort: the work is great, and honorable, and being ſo it muſt be acceptable to God: and that which God accepts cannot but be feaſable: for *Qui dat finem, dat media*, Let the juſtice of this war fix our reſolutions upon the purſuance of it, and when we are upon its purſuance, let us purſue it wiſely, and ſtrenuouſly as becomes Souldiers: let no ſcruples defraud us of the opportunities and advantages that attendit, for ſuch in war are irrecoverable & pretious: to be brief, let us not be held up with Treaties by the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners, let us not wave *Langdale*, nor leave *Berwick* and *Carliſle* to the Enemy: when we are in peace let the laws of peace order us when we are in war, let the Maxims of war ſway &c. the rather for that advantage loſt in peace may be regained, but an error committed in war can never be redeemed.

The next Gentleman was of a different opinion from either of theſe, and you may ſuppoſe his Oratory was as followeth.

My Lords and Gentlemen.

YOu have heard how much may be ſaid for a preſent war with *England*, and how much may be ſaid againſt it: you have heard in what extreams the arguments both of a meer Souldier, and a meer Scholler run, and now having heard both, and compar'd both, you may the better extract out of both that which is truly counſellable at this preſent, and that doubtleſſe, teaches warily to decline both extreams: The Gentleman that ſpake laſt maintained well the juſtice and neceſſity of the worke that is to be done: ſuch a ſervice to God and the King cannot but be juſt and neceſſary; and our Covenant cannot obſtruct any thing that is of it ſelf juſt and neceſſary; therefore to oppoſe our Covenant againſt this war, is to undervalue our Covenant, and to entangle our ſelves in ſuch nicities as are more fit for the Schools, then this Senate.

On the other ſide the Gentleman that ſpoke firſt interpoſed ſome neceſſary advertiſements about the manner of our proſecuting this high undertaking, not fit to be neglected, for doubtleſſe it concerns Gods honor, the ſafety of the King, and the perpetuall peace and ſafety of theſe Nations, that this affair be wiſely managed, as well as it is religiouſly intended. We all know that the taking of ſome advantages in war, if they be at too far a diſtance with Religion, may prove our diſadvantages: and ſo the parting with ſome opportunities in ſome caſes, may be a gayn of better to us; haſt ha's overthrowne ſome undertakings, as well as delay others. Wherefore I deſire leave to counterpoiſe with a little moderation, that which hath been preſſed by both the Gentlemen that ſpoke before me.

And Firſt tis my humble motion, that the Kirk here may have all poſſible ſatisfaction given them in the forming, and heading of this Army, and in the conduct, and ſteering of the great deſigne; foraſmuch as without this condiſcention we cannot expect their concurrence, and without their concurrence, we cannot expect that readineſſe, or confidence in our Friends at home, nor that ſtupidity & conſternation in our enemies abroad, as is to be deſired.

Secondly, That if wee admit not the Engliſh Commiſſioners to treate, and then allow three moneths warning after the end of that Treaty: yet we may inſtantly diſpatch away an Expreſſe

to

to the Parliament of *England* with particular demands, and a cleere denunciation of warre within a moneth, if thoſe particulars be not inſtantly agreed to.

Thirdly, That ſome reaſonable ſpace before wee march a Declaration may be emitted to ſatisfie our Friends in *England* with our ſincere intentions towards them: and that the buſines of the Kirke being ſetled, and the King reinthroned, wee have no intention to intrench upon the priviledges of the Parliament there, or to breake that bond of confederation and union that was intended to be confirmed by the Covenant.

Fourthly, That *Langdale* may be countenanced at a diſtance, and with much reſervation, and that no other uſe may be openly made of Him, then of a Forlorne Hope to ſeize the Engliſh frontire Garriſons for our uſe, and to ingage upon other the like hazardous ſervices. How well theſe things are calculated for the Meridian of *Edenburgh*, I leave every man to gueſſe freely: but this is certain, there were few in the Scotch Parliament, who gave their judgements the firſt way: many went the ſecond way: and all went the third way, except onely in complying with the Kirke: and if there be any credit to be given to *Hamilton*, who affirm'd it religiouſly at the time of his arraignment in *England*, the Kirkes party refuſed to comply with Him, and his party, more out of emulations, and particular State-animoſities, then out of any diſlike of the cauſe, or condemnation of the undertaking. And time ha's ſince made this more manifeſt, for even the Commiſſioners of the Kirke in their Declarations ſince, and by their ingaging againſt us with their yong declared King, have even by the Covenant, and the ſame conſtructions of it, owned every part of the quarrell againſt us, which they condemned in *Hamilton*, ſetting only aſide his entring upon us without three moneths previous warning, well: The Scotch Parliament having ſufficiently Commiſſion'd *Hamilton* for his March into *England*, roſe without any audience, or intercourſe granted to our Commiſſioners.

Hamilton being ſo Commiſſion'd, makes preſent uſe of *Langdale*, and his Train, ſpeeds away with 20000. men for *England*, ſeizes *Barwick* and *Carlile*, commits infinite barbarous cruelties, and deſtructions in the foure Northerne Counties, before previous warning given according to our Treaties, but within ſome

few

few weeks fights with the Lievtenant-Generall *Cromwell* in *Lancaſhire*, is taken priſoner, ſees his Army defeated, and the remainders of it chaſed back into *Scotland*.

Out of this matter of fact ſo ſtated, a diſpute now ariſes, whether this hoſtile action of *Hamilton*, that was then chargeable upon the Parliament of *Scotland*, be ſtill juſtly to be anſwerd and accounted for to the State of *England*, by the preſent State of *Scotland*.

The *Scots* deny it upon theſe grounds. For their firſt evaſion, they ſay, the good party that now governs is not the ſame, as the party was, that then governed. Whereby they would have us underſtand, that the State of *Scotland* is changed ſince, 1648. and does not remaine the ſame as it was at that time, and therefore ought not to be reſponſal for what was then done.

After the Committee of Eſtates, and the Kirk-Commiſſioners have condemned *Hamiltons* invaſion without antecedent warning, and his other miſcarriages in taking *Barwick* and *Carlile*, &c. and confeſt that nothing can be offerd in excuſe thereof: they yet adde, that never any people in the world in a time of defection did more evidence their freedome from guilt; then They (they meane the party now governing) did. Here is a defection confeſt in a Parliament lawfully choſen, and in the major part of the people adhæring to that Parliament: but there was a remnant of good people which at that time evidenced their freedome from that guilt, and that remnant ſince by force, and aſſiſtance of the Engliſh Army, ha's gotten power into their hands, and therefore the Magiſtrate that is now, is not guilty of that defection, nor conſequently the State of *Scotland* liable to make any reparation. This evaſion muſt be thus ſtopt up.

1. In all States where there is a Repreſentative, the publick act of that Repreſentative, or of its major part, bindes all, and every perſon. And though the next Repreſentative may repeale Laws formerly made, and recede at pleaſure from what its predeceſſors acted erroneouſly, or temporarily: and theſe new repeals, and receſſions ſhall be binding to all perſons therein repreſented: yet even theſe alterations alſo muſt be without fraud, *Salvo ſemper jure Tertij*: they muſt be without any prejudice to forrein States, and perſons there not repreſented. Nay, if the State of *England* paſſe an Intereſt in Land to a Subject of *England*,

upon

upon a good conſideration and contract, that act ſhal be binding perpetually, and may not under favour be avoyded by a New Repreſentative, becauſe that avoydance will appeare fraudulent in the State: and becauſe ſuch avoydance is to the damage of one that is as it were a third perſon, and contracts with the State upon equall terms; and it ſeemes, that a ſpeciall conſent is neceſſary in ſuch a caſe of his diſinheriſon, and that his generall conſent given by his Repreſentatiues ought not to diveſt him. And if it be here objected, that the conſtitution of the State of *Scotland* is different from other States, inaſmuch, as it conſiſts of two Repreſentatives, one civil and the other eccleſiaſticall; and in this ingagement of *Hamilton* the eccleſiaſticall Repreſentative did not act, nor concurre, but diſſent, and proteſt againſt it, and ſo made the civil act the leſſe authoritative. We anſwer; Firſt, the eccleſiaſticall Repreſentative of *Scotland* ha's no power but in caſes meerly eccleſiaſticall, ſuch as this was in 1648. was not. Secondly, if the *Scots* will tell us, that *Hamiltons* action, and caſe was *in ordine ad ſpiritualia:* wee muſt not ſuffer ſuch colluſion to be turnd to our prejudice. The State of *Scotland* muſt not thinke it ſufficient to ſtroke us in their ſpirituall capacity, whilſt they ſtrike us in their temporal capacity: the duplicity of their Powers muſt not juſtifie, or excuſe duplicity in their dealings: when wee ſuſtaine publick injuries, whether it be from a juriſdiction Parliamentary, or Synodical, the whole State of *Scotland* muſt be anſwerable for ſatisfaction. Thirdly, if the Ingagement of *Hamilton* was the leſſe valid in Law (if we did grant this, as we doe not) becauſe all that feared the Lord in the Land did petition, and pray againſt it, and expoſe themſelves to ſome perſecution for not complying with it, yet this does not render the ſame ingagement the leſſe miſchievous to us. There was not one drop of Engliſh bloud the leſſe ſhed then, nor is there one drop the leſſe to be accounted for now. Fourthly, wee are not without ſome ſtrong preſumptions, that the ſmall number of the religious party in *Scotland*, which were enemies to the Ingagement then, were not ſo much enemies to it as it was miſchievous to us, or unjuſt in it ſelfe, as becauſe it promoted *Hamiltons* faction too high, and had an ill aſpect upon their owne particular intereſt in *Scotland*. Elſe, what makes them ſo zealous againſt our receiving of right now, which pretend they

were

were ſo zealous againſt our receiving of wrong then? It ſeemes ſtrange to us, that the Engliſh which had never a Friend in *Scotland* two yeares ſince to warde one blow from their throats, or to do any real act of reſiſtance to *Hamilton*, ſhould now finde never an Enemy in *Scotland*, obnoxious to their challenge of ſatisfaction: and that the ſame men ſhould be the moſt forward to debarre us of reparation now, which were then moſt forward to proteſt againſt our ſuffrings. Secondly, where two Repreſentatives have been legally choſen, if it be not honorable for the later to anull the formers act in prejudice of a third perſon that ha's right: much leſſe honorable is it for a Repreſentative brought in by the ſword to derogate from the acts of a former Repreſentative, that had a faire, and free election from the people. Wherefore, let the preſent power in *Scotland* apply this to themſelves: and the rather for that they complain of forcible alterations amongſt us, onely upon pretended diſcommodities to our ſelves, whilſt they themſelves make uſe of forcible alterations amongſt themſelves, to the defrauding of their neighbours. Thirdly, Admit the Parliament, by which *Hamilton* was Commiſſion'd, was an unjuſt Parliament; admit it was no Parliament at all; and admit that *Hamilton* with a leſſe party, and without any Commiſſion at all had broke in upon us in a hoſtile manner: yet even this would not leave the *Engliſh* altogether remediles; for in this caſe upon a juſt demand of ſatisfaction made by the *Engliſh*, the *Scots* muſt diſowne the act, and ſee the outrage legally expiated upon the actors; or elſe they owne it themſelves, and ſo become as obnoxious as the actors. That which was the ſin of one Towne in *Benjamin* at firſt, became the ſin of the whole Tribe of *Benjamin* afterwards; and doubtleſſe, that which was the ſin of one Tribe in *Iſrael* at firſt, had become the ſin of all *Iſrael* at laſt, if juſtice had not been lawfully executed; Let the *Scots* look upon this with ſad eyes, for that blood of the *Engliſh* ſhed by *Hamilton*, which is now the guilt of a party only in *Scotland*, upon the deniall of juſt ice, may be made the guilt of all *Scotland*.

The ſecond evaſion of the *Scots* is this; They ſay, if they were perſons challengeable of ſatisfaction, yet they that ſit now in the Parliament of *England*, are not perſons, that can duly challenge, or require ſatisfaction: It ſhould ſeeme as *Scotland* before was

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not to be found in *Scotland*; ſo *England* is now not to be found in *England*: ſo hard a matter it is to get right from them that can thus eaſily transforme, and deforme whole Nationall bodies. The meaning is, Government in *England* has been of late changed; two of the Eſtates in Parliament are removed by force, and the third Eſtate uſurpes, what was due to all: wherefore as they cannot treate with us about ſatisfaction, but they muſt acknowledge us a lawfull authority; ſo conſcience forbids them to acknowledge our authority lawfull.

To this wee anſwer. 1. The change of rule in a Nation, does not change the Nation; foraſmuch as the manner of rule is changeable, and accidentall, and ſo does not give beeing, or ſupport the eſſence of a State. If wee in *England* beeing a Monarchy owe three Millions to the *Hollander*, the change of Monarchy in *England* will not exempt us from, our obligation: and if we in *England*, beeing a Democracy, have three Millions due from the *Hollander*, our returne to Monarchy will not denude us of our remedie. The devaſtations and hoſtilities of *Hamilton* were ſuffred by the Engliſh Nation, and the Parliament of *England* demands juſtice, and reſtitution for the ſame in behalfe of the Engliſh Nation: now 'tis not agreeable to juſtice, or reaſon, that a ſlight exception taken againſt the ſubſtitute, ſhould diſable the Principal, or any incapacity of the demandant redound to the prejudice of him which is the true Intereſſent.

Secondly, If the uſurpation of the Parliament of *England* ſhall bar the State of *England* from its due courſe of juſtice, yet how does it appeare to the *Scots*, that the power of our Parliament is an uſurp't power? If God or Man ha's given them any warrant to judge of our actions, and affaires in *England*, let them ſhew it: for without ſome ſuch warrant they are but our Equalls: and one equall ha's no power of judging another. If they plead any undeniable principle in nature which condemnes all alteration of Government as unlawfull: and all extruſion of Governours as uſurpation, and of this Maxime, they ſay, all men are equally Judges; then how will they juſtifie their extruſion of *Lannerick*, and their new moulding of their Committee of Eſtates after the defeature of *Hamilton*, which without armes, and our aſſiſtance they could not have compaſt? Is that a naturall, indiſpenſible principle in *England*, which is not ſo in *Scotland*? Away

with ſuch partiall ſhifts; let the *Scots* ſhew us that Nation under Heaven that ha's not ſeverall times been driven to mutations of Governments, and Governours, and been at laſt juſtified therein by the plea of neceſſity, and common ſafety: and wee ſhall confeſſe their Lordly power over us.

Thirdly, If the *Scots* be our Lords, and will give judgement againſt us in this caſe, yet they muſt know, that wee are now upon our appeal before almighty God, and have accordingly taken Armes into our hands for the proſecution of that appeal. And does not one of the primary Lawes of Warre teach them what a hazard it is to deny right to him that beares his naked ſword in his hand? *Arma Tenenti— Omnia dat qui juſta negat.* Will the *Scots* lay an incapacity of Treating upon us firſt, and then of fighting afterwards. The difference now betwixt us is, whether wee have juſtly enterd *Scotland*, or no, to ſeeke redreſſe of many injuries, and depredations by tryall of battaile, which was denide us by debate in a friendly intercourſe: and doe the *Scots* thinke now to argue us out of our armes? doe they think, that the ſame condemnations of our uſurp't power, by which they inſulted over us, when wee ſought a Treaty, will be ſeaſonable now, when the cauſe is preferd to a higher Court? This were to cut us off from all remedie whatſoever; this were to detrude us below the miſerableſt of men; this is beyond all ordinary ſtrains of Tyranny: There is no Client, nor Subject, nor ſlave whatſoever, but by way of his laſt appeale, may repell force with force, when his caſe is beyond all other deciſions: and this is held no more then a making an humble addreſſe to Heaven, or laying the cauſe before the Lord of Hoſts his Footſtoole: Will the *Scots* then which have droven us their equalls to this, laſt reſort, prejudge and foreclude us in this alſo, and ſo make us worſe them the worſt of inferiors? Certainly, if we may not treate before wee confeſſe our ſelves uſurpers, wee may fight till God declares us to bee ſo; or that our enemies have uſup't over us.

The third advantage or exception of the *Scots* againſt our demands of ſatisfaction, is taken from the ſpace of time that interlapſed betwixt the overthrow of *Hamilton*, and our ſolemne denouncing againſt them for that hoſtilitie: as alſo from ſome reciprocall kindneſſes, and teſtimonies of accord and pacification,

tion, which paſt betwixt the Nations in the mean while. Of both theſe I ſhall now give this faithfull account. The victory of of L: G: *Cromwell* againſt the *Scots* was about the latter end of Summer, 1648: and our Forces following that chaſe ſtayed in *Scotland* till about Mid-winter following. During the ſtay of our Army in *Scotland* a good underſtanding was betwixt us, and the *Kirk* party there, for we had both the ſame ends againſt the *Hamiltonians*, and ſo whileſt we extorted the ſword out of *Lannericks* hands, and put it into *Arguiles*, we did our own buſineſſe and the *Kirks* too; and the *Kirks* more immediately then our own. Howbeit a Treaty was now begun in the *Iſle of Wight* with the King, where the *Scoch* Commiſſioners appeared great ſticklers for the King to our Nations great diſ-ſervice, and this gave us ſome glimpſe, that even in the *Kirk* party, reſtored ſo lately to power by our means, all was not ſo ſound, and ſincere, as it ought to be. The Treaty not ſucceeding about the laſt of *Januar:* the King was brought to the block: and then the inſolencies of the *Scoch* Commiſſioners, and their haughty intruſions into the managery of our *Engliſh* State affairs, and their deſpicable ſubjecting of our Parliament to their over-ruling wils, grew ſo intolerable, that upon the 17. of *Febr:* the Parliament declared publickly againſt them. This begat another Paper from the Commiſſioners dated the 24. following more imperious, and controuling then formerly, and this was preſently after voted a deſigne in the contrivers of it to raiſe ſedition, that ſo under ſpecious pretences they might gain advantage to ſecond their late perfidious invaſion. The 6. of *March* following, the State of *Scotland* wrote a Letter to us (as they now inform us) to avow their Commiſſioners laſt Paper, and withall diſallowing our conſtruction of it, for that they judged it no incroachment upon our Government, nor any indeavour to raiſe ſedition. They likewiſe ſignified in the ſame, that if any prevalent party in either Kingdom had, or might break the bonds of Union, yet thoſe ſacred tyes ought not to be layed aſide or cancell'd, but preſerved for the benefit of ſuch as were innocent in both Nations. The *Scoch* Commiſſioners to whom this Letter was ſent for delivery of it were now upon their return for *Scotland*, and ſo the ſame never came to our hands, though the *Scots* untruly tax us of ſuppreſſing it. But why ſhould they ſuſpect any deſigne in us of ſuppreſſing this Letter? The

Letter, if we had received it, would not have healed our grievances, it would rather have made the wounds wider: for the *Scots* Commissioners had charged us of Treason, perjury, usurpation, &c. for doing those things within our own government, which were required at our hands by justice, and Reason of State: now their principals in *Scotland* tell us that this charge is true: but being true: it molests not, it shakes not, it justles not us out of any part of our power, nor stirs the people at all against us. What is this but to tell us; that they are more truly Judges in *England* of Treason, perjurie, usurpation, &c. then we? that 'twas not injurious in them to condemne us, nor seditious in the people to rise up against us in observance of their commands? Sometimes they pretend they aime at nothing beyond a simple protesting against us, and that a freedome of Protesting is due to all men: but this is meerly to delude, and infect the people the more: for tis evident to all men, that such Protestations as their Papers have exhibited, have ever been fraighted with the worst of calumnies, the severest of sentences, and have been received by the people, as warlike defiances.

In this case therefore when so many insurrections, and broils have been actually bred against us in our own bowels, and so dangerously seconded by forrein Forces, we call in all men to be Judges betwixt us, whether we may not more justly cast out *Protestations* when they do but palliate seditious conspiracies, then to submit to seditious conspiracies, because they cover themselves with the names of *Protestations*. This Letter miscarrying, and our Parliament having waited awhile for some other return by some Expresse, or other, in *May* following, about nine months after the *Scoch* Rout, a complanatory Letter was sent from hence about divers grievances in generall, and satisfaction was therein desired by Treaty in a peaceable way. An Answer hereunto came in *June* following, recomplaining that the *Scots* justly found themselves aggrieved at the late proceedings in *England*, in reference to Religion, taking away the Kings life, and change of fundamentall Government, which they had protested against. That in case the *English* would disclaim their late proceedings against *Covenant* and *Treaties*, they were contented to authorise Commissioners for a Treaty. Otherwise they were resolved to keep themselves free from all complyance with malignants on

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the one hand, and the Enemies of Kingly Government, on the other. That in regard of the Covenant, the Treaties, and many Declarations of both Kingdoms, they could not acknowledge that to be a Parliament, from whom the last Proposition came to them about a Treatie to be appointed. Here was a flat deniall of any satisfaction, by declining all means of treating about the same: Here was a reason given of that deniall, as full of enmity and hostility as could be: instead of making any compensation due to the State of *England* for the bloodshed, and rapine of *Hamilton*, here was a strange coacervation and accumulation of new slanders, and defamations upon the Parliament of *England*. Letters from the Parliament are now as it were interdicted, no such subscription is to be admitted, hereupon in *July* following, our Parliament issued forth a Declaration for the better stating of these matters: the endeavour of that Declaration was to remove yet all Nationall misunderstanding if possible: and to demonstrate that the *English* yet had not laid aside all thoughts of peace: but concluding that if still they were diverted out of the wayes of peace unwillingly, the fault was not theirs. This Declaration was made as publick, as ever any was in *England*, and we have thousands here of the *Scotch* Nation disaffected enough to us, and ten thousands of *English* Presbyterians besides more imbittered then the *Scoch*, and all these can attestate the evulgation of this Declaration, yet the *Scots* call it a Dormant Declaration, and most dis-ingenuously would infuse it into the people that they had never, nor could have any notice of it. A Letter of theirs to us in the hands of a single Messenger could not be intercepted: but a Manifest of ours Printed, and intitled to the whole world must needs miscarry, and that by our collusion. Some reply was expected by us to the matter of this Declaration, and some months past away hanging our expectation: but none came: the first news we heard was that about the middle of *March* following there was a Treaty agreed on to be at *Bredah* betwixt the *Scots*, and their youg declared King: and that the principall Subject of that Treaty, was about the pretensions of the yong King to *England*, and the quarrels of the *Scots* against *England*. This to us, that had so little hopes of reconcilement before, was a sufficient alarme, and upon this our L: Generall *Cromwell* was sent for out of *Ireland*, all warlick preparations were made ready, and our Army

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this laſt Summer, (as ſoon as we got notice of the agreement made at *Breda*, and how far it concerned the life of this Common-wealth) made its entrance into *Scotland*.

This relation gives the true procedure of all memorable matters betwixt Summer 1648. and Summer 1650. with the reaſons of the ſlow motions of the *Engliſh*: and amongſt them all whether there was any compoſure made betwixt the *Nations* for *Hamiltons* fædifradous irruption, either by ſatisfaction given, on the one ſide, and taken, or confeſt by the other, tis left to judgement. But the *Scots* alledge ſtill, that immediately after the breaking of *Hamilton* in *England*, and the diſ-arming of his brother in *Scotland*, there were given divers clear demonſtrations of amity, and good accord betwixt the Nations: Letters will yet teſtifie, that the godly party in *Scotland* ſatisfied the *Engliſh* in their innocency, and that the *Engliſh* did accept of the ſame, as good ſatisfaction. For example: in *Septemb:* and *Octob:* the L: Generall *Cromwell* wrote in behalf of the Kirk patty, by Him then ſeated at the ſtern, and his letters did recommend them to the Parliament as men carefull of the unity of the Nations, and the intereſt of *England*. On the other ſide the *Scots* remitted hither an honourable Teſtimony of the fair comportment of our Souldiery there, together with a thankfull acknowledgment of the benefit, and advantage which our ſeaſonable aſſiſtance had afforded them. Likewiſe from the Parliament here it was written back, that the religious, and well affected people in *Scotland* were excuſed from thoſe impious, and unwarrantable actions, and that there was no willingnes in the *Engliſh* to impute thoſe evils to the Nation in generall. As for the L: Generals Letters, queſtionleſſe they contained his true, plain, meaning: He did believe at that time, that the intereſt of *England*, and the unity of the Nations was valued by the *Kirk*, and the *Arguilians* in *Scotland:* but what diſcharge was this to the reſt of the Nation? nay what diſcharge is this to any of that Nation? His Commiſſion extended not to compound for the dammages ſuſtained by us: nor did He ever treat about the ſame: nor did He at laſt finde his loving recommendations juſtly anſwered by that Godly parties actions.

Out of this therefore there follows nothing but that our L: Generall was more charitable, then the *Scots* were gratefull. As for the *Scotch* Letters, they ſerve well to ſhew the ſingle dealing

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of our L: Generall towards them, and their double dealing towards Him: but they ſerve not at all to ſhew any act of oblivion, or any other pacificatory concluſion that was conſented to by both Nations. Therefore the good that they then bore witneſſe to in our Souldiery, we hold it to be juſt, and according to merit: but when they publiſh retracting contradicting Papers after the intermiſſion of two years, and therein complain (as they did this laſt Summer) that the *L:* Generall came in un-invited, that the manner of his entrance was not guided by their Inſtructions, and that the proceedings of his Army were very unſatisfying in many other things: this is an argument of their profound diſſimulation. As for the Parliaments Letters: although the Parliament at that time was too full of Kirkmen, yet if they had any full words of releaſe in them, we ſhould not prolong our conteſtation hereupon: but the utmoſt that can be extracted out of them, is a charitable exemption of ſome that had the teſtimony of wiſhing well to the unity of the Nations, and intereſt of *England* from the pen of the L: Generall. The Parliament was unwilling, that the *Scotch* Nation in generall ſhould be charged with the guilt, and blood of the *Hamiltonians*, and therefore it did acquit, and hold exonerated thereof all the religious, and well-affected people of *Scotland*. Without queſtion the religious, and well-affected people here excuſed, are underſtood to be no other then ſuch as had been adverſe to *Hamiltons* expoſition of the *Covenant* upon ſincere grounds, and not for any factious, or particular reſpects. But how few ſuch there were in *Scotland* at that time is now manifeſt, by the general adhering of that Nation to their new King againſt us. For there is not one man in *Scotland* that aſſiſts this young King againſt us now, but He expounds the *Covenant* in the ſame manner as *Hamilton* did then: and He might have as ſafely complyed with *Hamilton* in that Ingagement, as He may with the yong King in this: as will be further demonſtrated in due place. Theſe are the main ſubterfuges which the *Scots* flie unto, when we tax them of that cruell, barbarous Ingagement againſt us in 1648. The reſt of their pleas whereby they ſeek not to ſhelter themſelves from the whole guilt, but onely to extenuate it, or rather to qualifie our demanded ſatisfaction are ſcarce worth the mention.

They ſay, they have received ſome dammage in *Scotland* by the *Iriſh*,

Iriſh, and have demanded ſatisfaction of us, but as yet received none. A ſtrange objection, have not the *Iriſh* been proſecuted by us theſe nine yeers as Enemies? And though they owe allegiance *de jure* to *England*: yet are they not as mortall Enemies *de facto* to us, as to the *Scots*? Do we any way abet, juſtifie, or ſpare them? to vouchſafe more to this, were to diſparage right.

They ſay moreover, that ſome ſatisfaction has been made us by the booty, and pillage which *Hamiltons* Army loſt in *England*. Some few *Scoch* Arms, and Horſes, which falling amongſt the Souldiers as due prize were like water ſpilt upon the ground, neither received in ſatisfaction by the State of *England*, nor ſo given by the State of *Scotland*, muſt come in upon the Account of the *Engliſh* to ſatisfie them for all the plunders, murders, and waſts which a *Scoch* Army perpetrated contrary to Treaties, and ſworn Covenants. No more of this, here ends the firſt part of the *Scoch* Warre, whoſe Scene was layed in *England*: we come now to its ſecond part. where our Scene by Gods abundant grace, and goodneſſe is removed into *Scotland*. And in this tranſition from paſt, to preſent, imminent hoſtilities we doubt not but to evidence the neceſſity of our War in *Scotland*, *à parte poſt*, as well as we have done the juſtice of it *a parte ante*.

THe Treaty at *Bredah* in *March* laſt, betwixt the *Scots* and their declared King: both being upon termes of Hoſtility with us: had little buſines to be debated, that was peculiar to *Scotland*: the main thing to be propoſed by both parties, was the removing ſome miſ-underſtandings amongſt themſelves, that they might thereupon the better double their powers, and twiſt their pretenſions againſt *England*. The Kings intereſt was Monarchy, the *Scots* was Monarchy and Presbytery: the *Engliſh* were held to be advers to both theſe intereſts: and the Covenant therfore to favour both the Treators, againſt the *Engliſh*: ſo miſ-underſtandings amongſt the Treators could not be hard to be removed, or at leaſt their ſlight jars could not be hard to be laid aſleep for a while, when they had ſo little to looſe to each other, and yet ſo much to gain from a third party. All that the *Scots* deſired of the King as humble ſuitors was but this, that He would take the *Covenant* (if that were but ſwallowed down in its literall ſence, they thought all their further aims ſufficiently provided for) and this could

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not be much more bitter to him, then the Masse was formerly to his *French* Grand-father in the like case: and if it were; yet divers dulcifications might be added, and accordingly divers mixtures were used, to qualifie, and make more potable that draught. Advertisements had been sent from the young Kings devout Mother in *France*, and from her most Holy Father at *Rome*, that in such an extremity the Oath was compulsory, that the matter of the Oath was subject to many severall, yea contrary interpretations: that He should therefore be either left to be his own Interpreter at last in case He prevailed, or if not, yet He should be discharged of any contrary strained interpretation. The truth was, the present Power in *Scotland* had condemned *Hamilton* for invading *England* in behalf of an Anti-covenanting King, and so it would be now too grosse for them to do the same thing till they had a Covenanting King: whereupon it became impossible to them to relax the King of this condition. The young King, it may be, might demand why they should more scruple fighting for an Anti-covenanting King, then to fight against a Covenanting brother, since the *Covenant* lost no more credit by the one, then by the other: and perhaps He might further demand, why their conditions to Him were so rigorous, since his to them pressed nothing but what was pleasing, *viz.* a joint concurrence against a Common enemy. But his Mothers Councellors thought not fit to clog the debate with such intricacies. All *Scotch* punctilloes being at last waved (for the young King was so far from capitulating about his reception in *Scotland*, that He was more forward to capitulate against his trusting himself there) it came to the question, what He should obtain at their hands in relation to *England*. For satisfaction herein, it was assured, that the *Scots* had already proclaimed him King of *Great Brittain*, that they had alreadie Protested against the goveruing party in *England*, as guilty of Usurpation: that they did now ingage to contribute their utmost endeavours, by all necessarie, and lawfull means, according to the *Covenant*, and duties of loyall Subjects, to restore him to the peaceable possession of his other Dominions, according to his undoubted right of succession. This was the tenor in briefe of that Parlee: here is an Inthroning promist to the yong King by all necessary and lawfull meanes according to the Covenant: and heve force of armes is not openly profest, as a necessary, and lawfull meanes ac-

cording to the Covenant, that the English might be laid in the more securitie: but the ambiguously implyed, and secretly so explained to the yong King and his Counsell, that He might proceed with the more vigor and confidence. Hereupon now rises the contest, whether this ambiguity of expression, and mentall, equivocall reservation in the agreement be such as ought to delude the *English*, or not. The *Scots* still say, no force of Arms is threatned against us, and that if we flie unto force of Arms against them either upon this, or former hostilities, we do causlesly invade them.

They solemnly invoke God as a witnesse, and Judge, that they have denyed us no right, that they have done us no wrong: that in this preventing warre, we are meer invaders and returners of evill for good. Yet we must understand to make this good before the Bar of Almighty God himself, they waver, and dallie, and double, and seek to collude in their own plea: for they do not simply deny their ingaging to use force against us, but unlawfull force, nor yet are they willing to confesse their force intended, and justifie it openly as lawfull by the *Covenant*. Surely in an appeal to Almighty God, the case need not be presented with so much art, and under the cover of such dubious reservations.

Let us take a little notice; first, how far they deny; secondly, how far they justifie their forcible assisting the yong King against us. After the King was well satisfied with their meaning by private insinuations, and had adventur'd his person into *Scotland*; then further craft was thought fit to be used to blinde the English, and retard their preparations: and therefore the Committee of Estates in *Scotland* publisht, that the Article in the Treaty of *Bredah* concerning restoring the yong King to his Crowne of *England* was not to binde, till the Parliament and Kirke of *Scotland* had taken a previous consideration, and given their determination concerning the lawfullnesse, and necessitie thereof. Behold the ingenuity of the *Scots*, They conclude a warre, and no warre; To all the enemies of *England* 'tis a declared warre against *England*: To the English themselves 'tis no warre till the Scotch Parliament and Kirke have further declared in it. The enemies of *England* have hereupon just warning and timely summons to arme, and colleague for *Englands* offence: but in the presence of God they speake it, the English

them-

themselves have no just cause, nor provocation to provide for any defence at all. Though this agreement was made by the Enemies of *England*, with the Enemies of *England*, and referres to the Covenant which has alwayes been expounded to the justifying of a warre with *England* upon this quarrell: and though this agreement must signifie a full defiance against *England* to all others, yet to the English it must signifie nothing, God himselfe being admitted judge. The English had been once before invaded by the Parliament of *Scotland* upon the same pretexts of the Covenant without any warning given, when both the Nations were not onely in profest amity, but also under the religious ties of a solemne League: and yet now when the Parliament of *Scotland* has perfidiously violated that amity, and those ties, and it moreover fastned in a new Agreement and Covenant with the most active foe, that *England* has, in the world by Sea, and Land, and by the words of that Agreement and Covenant, has obliged it selfe to recover the Throne of *England* to Him: yet now, 'tis expected that the *English* should sit still, and attend till the Parliament and Kirke of *Scotland* had further defide them. Alas, the prevention of a wound that is likely to be mortall, is as necessary, when it is possible, as the warding of it: and some strokes are of that nature that they cannot be repelled by the buckler, if they be not anteverted by the sword. Therefore the fictions of the Cockatrices eyes want no ground in policy, whatsoever they doe in Nature: and 'tis often scene in warres, and seditions, that the party which surprizes not is sure to be surpriz'd. This caused the Parliament of *England* this last Summer to send a preventing Army into *Scotland*, yet with an intension of defence, not offence, for it was manifest to us, if wee did not pitch the warre there, and there draw the first bloud, wee did necessarily expose our selves to the first charge, and impression of our enemies here, and choose to erect the theater of warre within our own Dominions. Moreover, had wee been meere Assaylants, or had wee been defendants in an equall cause, against Enemies that had observed Feciall rites with us by giving us antecedent warning, wee would not have been wanting in the due formalities of defiance towards them. Nay, had there been any reall doubt how the Parliament and Kirke of *Scotland* would have determin'd of the justice, and ne-

ceſſity of a warre with *England*, or had there been any certain time prefixt when that determination ſhould have been given: or had wee been aſſured of any juſt time to prepare our ſelves afterwards for a compleat defence, wee had not been ſo forward in ſeeking out the hardſhips of that cold, and ſterill ſoyle, but as our caſe was, wee were great ſufferers, wee were ſufferers by perfidious Enemies, wee were deluſorily referd *ſine die*, to Judges that were bouud to no meetings, for the reſolution of a caſe that was before reſolved againſt us: and in the meane time whilſt wee were brutiſhly thus to waite upon ſuch Judges, all our conjured foes were contriving our ruine, and were certain to prepoſſeſſe irrecoverable advantages againſt us.

But now wee ſhall ſee in the next place, the ſame *Scots* that before the Judgement-ſeat of God charged us hitherto for entring upon them when wee were in no danger, nor under any provocation, ſeeing all their tranſactions at *Bredah* more fully come to light, betake themſelves from denying to confeſſing and avoyding. Such is their faultring, ſuch is their doubling: if their deniall could be maintained, they needed not deſcend to any confeſſion: and if their confeſſion were avowable, they needed not to fly to denyalls: but the truth is, they can neither abſolutely deny, nor abſolutely juſtifie their hoſtile machinations, and combinations againſt us, and therefore they ſhufle, and trifle, and play faſt, and loſe betwixt both.

In *Auguſt* laſt, when the *Scots* ſaw the *Engliſh* would not yeeld themſelves to be deluded, or diſappointed, or forecluded of any advantages in war by the falſe pretexts of peace, they ſtated the caſe of their war in a Declaration, which they forced the young King to publiſh in his Name at *Dunferlin*, and according to the caſe there ſtated, they reſolved to joyn upon the iſſue of a Battail, and in the Field to expect Gods own deciſion from Heaven. The Battail was fought, and the deciſion of Heaven diſſavoured the *Scots*: but tht ſucceſſe of a pitcht Feild is not now held an Argument weighty enough to ſink a cauſe ſo ſtated. Let us therefore more narrowly look into the particulars of that Declaration, and examine upon what ſure rules of equity and piety the cauſe of the *Scots*, as it is there drawn up, ſtands founded. At firſt the march of our Army was held meerly invaſive, & cauſleſly offenſive: the *Scots* denyed any hoſtile intentions againſt us at all:

now

now th granted there was an intention of force, but it was no other then what was justifiable by the Covenant, inasmuch as it threatned none but such as were Enemies to the Covenant. This seems to mean, that the Parliament of *England* with all their Armies and Adherents, had had just cause to prevent an invasion from the *Scots*, if they had been true to the Covenant, that is, if they had interpreted the Covenant in the *Scotch* sense: but since they are judged to have dealt treacherously with the Covenant, they are not worthy of any defence, they ought not to claim so much priviledg, as to prevent any danger, or enmity; For if the *Scotch* design had been meerly to plunder and inslave us, then we might have stood upon our guards, or used means of prevention lawfully: but since the designe was meerly to reforme us, and reclaime us to our loyalty, and to reconcile us to our Covenant: 'twas arrogance in us to thinke any resistance at all reasonable: Is not this a candid honest meaning? does not this high pitch of prejudice become a faire noble enemy? but to the effect, and purport of our *Scotch* Declaration: by that Declaration we are satisfied in two things.

First, What conditions were proposed by the *Scots* to the King both in behalfe of *Scotland* and *England*, and

Secondly, What Laws were agreed upon by them both to be imposed upon the *English*.

Of the Kings conditions little need be said: by taking the Covenant explicitly, he did implicitly bind himselfe to admit the *Scots* to be his interpreters of it, and by admitting them to be his interpreters, He did ingage to follow the advice of a Parliament in all Civill cases, and of an Assembly in all businesses of the Church: and tis to be understood that the same advice was to sway him as well when he was to consult about his affaires in *England*, as about his *Scotch* affaires.

For a proofhereof, we see when this very Declaration, so neerly concerning the government of *England*, was to be issued in the young Kings name, and he to avoid the same was withdrawne to *Dunferlin*: Commissioners were sent after him from the Kirk and States, to let him know, that by the Covenant he was bound to signe, and own this their Act, and that by his refusall if he separated his interest from Gods, and the Churches, they would endeavour the preservation of both without his.

But

But let us passe to the Lawes imposed upon us by the second at *Bredah*, and let us view sadly those heavy iron yoaks that are there wreathed for the neck of *England*. After that the young King is obliged to stand to the advice of the *Scots* in the supream counsells and concernments of *England*. Let us consider how far that advice is converted to our confusion. The first thing that we are to submit to is, we are here to yeeld up the Crown of *England* to be disposed of by the *Scots*; we must suppose there lies a duty, and is conferd a power by the Covenant upon them to see to our line of succession, and to take order that in all questions betwixt the people, and any pretendor, the Throne may be duly filled, and possessed. If a Traytor (that he's born) an enemy in Armes (that is) claime by inheritance the Soveraignty of *England*, the *Scots* may justifie force to invest him here, & 'tis breach of Coven: in us to oppose. 2. Though the same K. may be under Sequestration in *Scotl* till he has given publick satisfaction there, yet there is no satisfaction due in *Engl* of which the *English* are to be Judges, for the *English* are to rest satisfied in this, that the *Scots* rest satisfied: & if the *Scots* rest satisfied, the *Engl* sequestration becomes vacated. Nay, though that which the *Scots* call satisfaction, be apparently extorted by force, and almost confessed to be meer imulation, yet the *English* in spight of their understandings and senses must accept of it.

The *Scots* say, their young King is truly humbled for his Fathers Tyranny, and his Mothers Idolatry, the young King abhors their hypocrisie therein, and for divers days together puts all his hopes in this world upon eminent hazard, rather then he will subscribe their dictates, yet the *English* must neither question his, nor their sincerity. *Thirdly*. All these rigors, and impositions of the *Scots* our backs must bowe, and crouch under for the Covenants sake, and that we may prove true to the most high God, to whom we have lifted up our trembling hands. Though we have discovered the Covenant to be a falae ous, lubricous, ambiguous contract (as others besides the Contractors themselves now wrack it) so that in the *Scotch* sense it makes us enemies to them, in our sense it makes the *Scots* enemies to us, in a third sense it serves the Papists against us both; and though we are throughly informed, that the young King is not onely licensed but enjoyned to take it by all his Popish Patrons and Allies,

All in, and to make use of it as a snare to both Nations; yet we must take no exception against it. *Hamilton*, in 1648. expounded the Covenant in behalfe of the King, and Kirk to the raising of a war against us; yet the same powers in *Scotland* that condemned that war in him, raise the same against us now upon the same exposition. All the difference is this; *Hamilton* fought for a King that had not taken the Covenant, because He was never so far necessitated, whereas the present powers in *Scotl:* fight for a King that has Covenanted against his will, choosing rather to perjure then to perish: But let us aske the *Scots* seriously, Whether is the greater enemy of the Covenant before God, he that refuses to take it because it is against his conscience, or he that takes it against his conscience, because he dares not refuse it? Well, Gods judgements herein is by us both implored, & we cannot doubt but God in his due time will judge, & make his judgement undeniable. *Fourthly*. Though we indeed are not enemies to the Covenant, but can fully plead for our selves, that we are zealous for a true Reformation, even whilst we dislike the *Scotch* patterne, and that we are well-wishers to Monarchy elsewhere, even whilst we make choise of Democracy in *England* upon diverse urgent emergent considerations: yet all our pleas are rejected, the very last plea of Armes, from which no necessitated men besides are barred, is in us most imperiously condemned as well after open tryall, as before. Nay when wee know our selves condemned by the *Scots* as Enemies to the Covenant, and that the young King (to be brought in by force over us) is particularly sworne against us, in that he is generally sworne against all enemies of the Covenant, we must take it as a sufficient answer to all our complaints, that the King has no power to annoy any, but enemies to the Covenant. This is to heape Scornes upon the top of our endurances; for this all one, as if they should insolently tell us, that no man can hold any thing but by the Covenant, and the Covenant can have neither enemies nor friends, but such only as they declare to be such. To pursue these Scornes also and improve them the higher against us, they make their young King in his Declaration at *Dunferlin*, revoke all his Commissions granted against us by Sea, and Land, to any of his Instruments that adhere not to the Covenant. Do not we know, that such a revocation is meerly ludicrous, and

jocular

jocular? Could the *Scots* imagine that either *Rupert* at Sea, or the *Irish* Papists by Land would obey such a revocation so signed at *Dunferlin*? And if Ante-Covenanters should lay down their Commissions, would it be more ease for us to be spoiled and destroyed by the hands of false Covenanters, then by the hands of Ante-Covenanters? May not this King do what *Hamilton* did? May he not prevaile over a faction of Covenanters, and by them assaile us, as *Hamilton* did? and if not so, may he not be impowred; nay is he not already bound by all the Covenanters in *Scotland*, *nemine contradicente*, to treat us as enemies?

Will not God in earnest look down upon the makers of such jests?

Fifthly. As we must prostrate our selves to a King, to such a King exercised many years in bloudy feats against us before his pretensions to the Crowne, obtruded upon us by such *Fedifragous* neighbours; and further hardned against us by such religious incentives: so we must also stoope and kneel to him upon the most servile, odious conditions that can be.

For first, wee must come to a new change of Government for his sake. By the present, setled forme; Government is now devolved, and as it were naturally resolved into the hands of the people: and as Monarchy cost us a vast effusion of bloud, before it necessitated its own ejection, so it is likely to cost as much now, before it can be reestablisht. Lyons, and Elephants doe not teeme, and propagate so often, and easily as mice, and ferrets doe: nor can wee expect, that such great alterations in great States as these are should be compast without much sore travaile, and long continude throwes. The *Scots* doe know well enough, that our sectarian Party in *England*, which they charge of usurpation, ha's a great Army in *Scotland*, ready to cope with all their Levies, another as great in *Ireland*, a *Militia* not unequall to both in *England*, besides a puissant Armado at Sea: and can they imagin that the suppressing of this sectarian party, and reinvesting of Monarchy is likely to prove an unbloudy busines?

Secondly, As wee must be forced from the Government that now is, so we must be forced into a new Module of Government, that never was before in *England* knowne, or heard of. The supreme Power of *England* must now suffer a partition, and have its residence in two severall Councells; the one Ecclesiasticall, the

the other Civil, and so whilest in imitation of *Scotland*, it transforms it self into an Amphisbæna, and submits to the motions of two Heads, it can hardly avoid dangerous disputes, and dissentions. In cases of the *Kirk*, the King must hearken to Divines, in matters politick the King must be observant of his Parliament: but if there happen a difference in mixt matters, tis left to the peoples discretion to side, and adhere, as they see cause. Surely twill be an uncooth innovation in *England* to see Kirkmen sit in an Assembly, and publish Declarations concerning peace, and warrs, as they do now in *Scotland*; and whether such an innovation may be conducing to a good accord, and understanding in the State, or no, we leave to conjecture. 3ly, As we must subject our selves to these grand innovations, so they must also be purchased by us with the price of some of our best blood: some few of our principall Patriots heads must be payed down in hand for them. It should seem, their Idol the *Covenant* requires some sacrifice to make an attonement for the indignities, and prophanations it has lately suffered in *England*, and so foure or five mens lives are demanded, as a just oblation. But the *Scots* might understand that we are not yet so tame, and that the demand of such an oblation from us, is all one, as the demand of many Hecatombes: and therefore perhaps tis not parsimony of blood that makes them so parsimonious in their demands of blood. 4ly, As our pretiousest Friends must lye under this discretionary danger, so the most fatall of our Enemies must be secured from all danger of our Laws: for in the close of all, an Act of Oblivion is to overwhelme all things, and all men whatsoever, Royallists, Presbyterians, Independents, Papists, Protestants are to be put into an equall condition. What is this lesse then to spoil us of all advantages, and exempt our Enemies from all disadvantages that the event of these late wars have cast upon us both? especially when the Act is to passe as a Grace from our Masters in *Scotland*, and not of reconcilement from us?

By this state of the cause so formed, and owned by the *Scots* themselves, 't is now apparent, that if the *English* had yielded stupedly to all the conditions, and Laws that are here imposed upon them, they had left nothing remaining to themselves: the whole *English* Nation had been given up to vassalage under a forreign Power. Those very Royalists, and Presbyterians which

should have survived the Independents, and could have severd themselves from the ruin of the Parliament: (as was very difficult to do) yet should have seen the old Government of *England* overturned, and have served a Master; that should have served other Masters. The *Scots* nevertheless in the Declaration before mentioned recommend these impositions of their young K: as his gratious condiscentions, and they expect that hereby he offers satisfaction to the just, and necessary desires of his good Subjects in *England*, and *Ireland*. And because they see there are many thousands in *England*, who have utterly forgotten that ever they were born on this side the *Twied*: They use many Arguments of Conscience and Honour to Arm all such against the Parliament: and to inamour them with that Freedom, and happinesse that this Declaration promises under them. So wonderous a thing it is, that any liberty under a Parliament of *England* should be thought worse by *Englishmen* then any servitude under the *Kirk*, and state of *Scotland*; but here are the true grounds of our expedition into *Scotland*: the Justice whereof looks backward to the incursion of *Hamilton* in 1648. whilst its necessity looks forward to the Treaty at *Breda*, and to the accord that was there made in *March* last. There is a Justice of warre sometimes that derives it self onely from necessity: but in the War that is now waged by our Parliament in *Scotland*, we may truly avow, that our Arms are just because they were necessary, and we as truly avow, that they became necessary by being so egregiously just: inasmuch as the Magistrate often is restrained from dispensing with the Subjects right. Now it appears by what has been here related, that the *Scots* unprovoked powred in upon us 20000. men in a maner most perfidious, and at a time most disadvantagious; that after satisfaction peaceably sought they rejected us as unworthy of any Treaty with them: that at *Breda* they have since conspired with our open Enemy against us, making their cause his, and his theirs: and therefore directly contrary to the *Scots* Declarations emitted the last Summer, we draw this conclusion, that we have received wrongs insufferable, that we have been denied rights indispensible, and that we have been forced into a War unavoydable. For we hope, since no place, nor time secures us from the offensive Arms of their young King, and his Commissions Officers, whose cause they have espoused by taking him into a forced

Covenant;

Covenant; No time, nor place ought to secure him from our defensive prosecution. Let the *Scots* flatter themselves as they please with fond umbrages, that they observe their Covenant whilst they fight against us that are parties to it, and whilst in the young K. they abet P. *Rupert*, and the *Irish*, that are parties ingaged against it; God is not mocked, He sees throughly the ill temper of that morter, wherewith their ruinous cause is daubed. The same God knows likewise how unwillingly we drew our swords in this quarrel, and how far all aims of ambition, domination, revenge, or spoil were distant from these our undertakings. The same words which were once used by our Army after the great defeat given to *Hamilton* in *England*, the same do we still resume after as great a successe neer *Dunbar* in *Scotland*. We believe God ha's permitted his Enemies at several times to Tyrannize over his people, that we might see a necessity of Union amongst them. We likewise hope and pray that his glorious dispensations of successe against our Common Enemies may be the foundation of Union amongst Gods people in love and amity. To this end (God assisting, before whom we make this profession) to the utmost of our power, we shall endeavour to perform, what is behinde on our parts: and when we shall through wilfulnesse fail herein, let this Hypocritical profession rise up in Judgement against us, before him who is and ha's ever appeared the severe avenger of Hypocrisie. This we direct now to all the mislead, yet well meaning people of *Scotland* as cordially after a second signal victory, as we did then after the first.

Reader, *I here often mention the* Scots, *and seem to intend the whole Nation; but I pray thee make no such interpretations: for I doubt not but there are many good people there, that either know not their Magistrates Hypocrisie, or bewail it in secret. I my self know many excellent men of that Nation, and these to me are as dear as if they were* English.

Sit Tros, sit Tyrius, nullo discrimine habebo.

Of the INGAGEMENT.

THere was lately Printed a ſheet of *Conſiderations* againſt our common *Ingagement* of Allegiance, to this Commonwealth: the Author ſeems to be a *Presbyterian* of the *Scotch* Faction, by ſome thought able and learned: his Arguments are very briefe, and I will anſwer him, as briefly as may be. The Arguments by which our *Ingagement* is impugned, and as it were on every hand beleaguerd are eleven, as I take it.

The firſt is againſt the *Ingagements* inconſiſtency with former Obligations.

2. Its partiality towards Malignants. 3. Its obſcurity, and ambiguity. 4. Its illegall penalties. 5. Its inefficacie. 6. Its want of charity. 7. Its rigor to harmleſs, conſcientious men. 8. Its enmity to Reconciliation. 9. Its diffidence in God. 10. Its exceſſe, and extremity in puniſhing. 11. Its oppoſition to Chriſtian Liberty. The raiſing of this ſeige, I hope will not prove very difficult.

Conſiderator.

This Ingagement, *to ſome that have already taken ſix or ſeven Oaths, may poſſibly ſeem contrary to ſome of thoſe former Obligations: and ſuch Ingagers muſt now ſuffer, or ſin againſt their doubting conſciences.*

Anſw:

1. No State can enact, or ordain any thing, but the ſame may be lyable to ſome mens doubts; (In Chriſtian Religion it ſelf all mens ſcruples are not prevented) thoſe Acts, and Orders therfore which are not lyable to juſt doubts, are ſufficient, and ought to binde. Now the *Ingagement*, which in truth is not repugnant to any of our former Oaths, or Obligations, is lyable to no juſt doubts. For our former Oaths, and Ingagements, if we rightly underſtand them, did not ſo intentionally oblige us to the form of Government, as to Government it ſelf; nor to this or that changable medium of governing, as to the fixt, perpetuall end of government. Forms, and Means are ſometimes very expedient, and ſo long they are neceſſarily to be obſerved: but the queſtion is how far they ought to be obſerved, when they claſh, and by ſome emergent alteration in the State are put out of Tune, and ſo jar, as it were, with ſubſtances, and Ends: and all wiſe men know:

know: *Subordinata non pugnant*: the matter of leſſe moment gives way to the greater. The Law of the Sabbath was ſtrict in all its rites, and requir'd an exact obedience in all its duties which were ſuitable to its end: but when mans being which was the end of the Sabbath came in queſtion, all its ſubordinate offices, and ſolemnities ſubmitted. The *Jews* thought man muſt rather periſh, then the Sabbath be broken by any labour to ſave him: and if man had been created for the celebration of that day, they had judged rightly: but ſince that days reſt was ordained for man, our Saviour gives a contrary judgement. The ſame reaſon reaches our caſe. Our allegiance has been formerly ingaged to the State of *England* governed in ſuch a form: that form is now changed, and now our allegiance to the State cannot be continued in the old form, without danger to the ſubſtance, without ruine to the end, for which allegiance was ſo ingaged. In this caſe, if we grant, that the form of government is but a mean, and that it was ordained for the convenience of government, not government for the forms: we have nothing to do, but to conclude with our Saviour, that neceſſity makes the change lawfull, and the violation of the form no violation: foraſmuch as there is no repugnance in ſubordinate things. *Dunkirk* was yeſterday under the *Spaniard*, tis to day under the *French*: the loyalty which the *Dunkirkers* payed yeſterday to the *Spaniard* is now due to the *French*: That *Dunkirker* which now keeps his loyaltie to the *Spaniard* breaks it, and may juſtly ſuffer for Treaſon: but that *Dunkirker* which departs from his former loyalty, keeps it, and the truth of his loyalty will be juſtified by the end of all Loyalty.

Conſider:

Known Malignants whoſe Conſciences are too hard for ſuch ſcruples, readily take the Ingagement, *and ſo get Truſt and imployment, whileſt the tendernes of Conſcience ſhuts honeſt men out.*

Anſw:

2. This Objection has no more Force againſt the *Ingagement*, then it has againſt preaching the Word, adminiſtring the Sacraments, and all the beſt Ordinances that ever were paſt by God, or man: for there was never any duty ſo holy, nor injunction ſo equitable but ſome ſcrupulous men perplexed, and intangled themſelves with fears about it, and ſome men of ill converſation would ruſh, and intrude rudely into it. Tis impoſſible for the Magiſtrate

either

either to ease tender Consciences, or to discriminate hard hearts in all cases: wherefore let us not require impossible things of our Magistrates.

Consider:

This Ingagement *is so pressed, that scruples arising none is permitted to clear them to himself, nor can the tenderers of it prescribe the sense wherein it is to be taken: so it must be subscribed blindly in the implicit meaning of the Imposers. This agrees not with the nature of a solemn Obligation.*

Answ:

3. The *Ingagement* is most injuriously accused of any obscuritie; no art of man could pen any thing more clearly, or succinctly: nay I am verily perswaded, that the same men that cavil at the *Ingagement* for ambiguity: can scarce produce one Law or rule in all the book of God, which might not be made as subject to cavillations as this bond of allegiance. By our subscriptions, we onely binde our selves to be true, and faithfull to the Common-wealth of *England*, as its now governed without King, or Lords. To ask, what the Common-wealth of *England* is, is ridiculous; tis the same now under this form of Regiment, as it was before under Monarchy. To ask, how it can be governed without King or Lords, is more ridiculous, our senses discover to us, that we have a goverument; that we have a government without King or Lords: and if we please we may further inform our selves, that there have been other such governments in all ages, amongst all Nations. To ask how we may be true, and faithfull to this Government, is most ridiculous of all: for Truth, and fidelity in *England*, is the same as Gods Law commands every where. No Law of Gods is more perspicuous, then that which enjoyns obedience, and subjection to Powers and Magistrates; and yet the same Law of God which injoyns obedience, and subjection, intends true obedience, and faithfull subjection: they cannot be divided: false obedience is no obedience, unfaithfull subjection is no subjection. Therefore let our *Considerator* cavil at God, and his Word, to which our *Ingagement* refers him, let him not cavill at those which refer him.

Consider.

The Subjects Liberty is saved to Him by divers Laws, and Oaths: yet the not subscribing of this Ingagement *bereaves any man now of the benefit of Law, the greatest of all* Liberties, *and rights.*

Answ.

Answ.

4. Liberty is the due birth-right, of every Englishman: but Liberty has its bounds, and rules; and the liberty of every member must be subordinate to the liberty of the whole body. By the Laws of Liberty every man is to injoy, that which is his own: but since one man has far greater, and better things to injoy, then another, the liberties of one may extend further, then the Liberties of another. Likewise, when our Liberties are equall extensive, one man may voluntarily renounce, or maliciously forfeit, that which another does not. Therfore we must not suppose, that any man in *England* by the Protestation, or Covenant, or any Law else, has such an estate, or inheritance in his Liberty, as is altogether indefeasible, and unreleasible, whatsoever He does, or saies. But in the last place, there is a Liberty of the whole State, aswell as of any particular subject: and that Liberty of the whole State must supersede the Liberty of every particular subject, whensoever both accord not: the lesser, to avoid repugnance, must alwaies give place to the greater. The Considerator is very erroneous, when He thinks, the Law allowes him any right, or freedome to disturbe the Law, or to oppose any constitution, upon which publick right, and freedom is founded.

Consider.

These kinde of ties have commonly proved uneffectuall: nay they have often proved mischievous, like artillery turned against the first planters, and devisers of them. Witnesse the Bishops Canonicall Oath: witnesse the late Covenant, &c.

Answ:

5. Religious ties, and pacts are not unlawfull in themselves, but we hold the use of them unlawfull when they are inforced without sincerity, without necessity, and without due authority. As for the Bishops canonicall Oaths; we are not satisfied that there was a sincere meaning in them, or any cleer Law for them: and we are certain there can be no necessity pretended to uphold them: wherefore tis no marvell, if they proved fatall. As for the Covenant also, it was rigorously obtruded upon the *English* by the *Scots*, without any pretext of authority: and as we have found since a want of ingennity in the obtruders, so we are sensible the pleas of its necessity were mistaken: forasmuch as it has wrought contrary effects, and produced hostility, instead of amity.

amity. Wherfore if this miscarried also tis no great wonder. Neither does the line, that runs betwixt our *Ingagement*, and those obligations prove a true parallell: for those were Religious, so is not this: and those were utterly unnecessary, to say no worse of them, so is not this. God has required us to be loyall, and true in our obedience to the higher powers: to obey God in this is necessary: and therfore to promise obedience in this, even when our promise is a necessary part of our obedience: and is moreover a medium so aptly disposed to reach the end of all obedience, the securance of publick peace: we cannot but conclude it necessary. Besides, the Considerator might take notice, that his objection here is generall against all stipulations, as such: so that by the force of his objection, the very bonds of matrimony; the military Sacraments of souldiers: all the obligations almost betwixt man, and man, by which humane society is preserved, finde themselves struck at, and shaken. There was scarce ever any Nation yet so barbarous, as wholly to neglect ties of allegiance; and amongst all ties of publick allegiance; there scarce will be any found so modest, brief, cleer, easie as our *English Ingagement*: the obligation is no more then civil, and the extent of it scarce equals the petie homages, and fealties which we pay in Leets, and in our Courts Baron.

Consider.

If we raised trouble, or sedition under the present Government, these proceedings against us might be justified: but we are now punisht because we dare not offend God by subscribing. What is our case now wer the subscribers case, when they were formerly over-ballanced in the Government by men of another judgment: let them therfore do as they would be done to, for we desire now, what they desired then, that Conscience may not be forced.

Answ:

6. The case of the *Non-ingagers* is not the same now, as ours was formerly: nor are we so uncharitable as to violent mens consciences, or to exact that from others which we would not have exacted from our selves: these charges are void of truth, and ingenuity. Necessary Oaths, and naturall stipulations properly tending to the preservation of humane society, we never were Enemies to: nor ought any good mans conscience check at them: and if the *non-ingagers* can shew, that we require now in this promise any fidelity or obedience to the State, besides what God him-

himself requires; and the naturall usage of all Nations justifies, we will acknowledge our error, and harshnes to them at present. Or on the other side, if the Considerator will shew, that the Oaths which we formerly were scandaliz'd at in the Bishops and other oppressors were of such necessity, and so tenderly moderated, as this *Ingagement* is, we will acknowledge our refractorines in former times: but if neither of these things can be shewed, the Considerator cannot say we deal unequally or partially with other mens Consciences, tis want of charity in Him, that charges this want of charity on us.

Consider.

The Non-ingagers can have no other ends of refusing, and becoming obnoxious to the sharp censure of the Act, besides Conscience: because they are few, and cannot compasse any alteration; and they further see, it could not be compast without a great effusion of blood, if they were more, and stronger. Again: if men offend by disturbance of the Government, under which they live: let them receive severe punishment, let them not be punisht before offence given. Again, This Ingagement *involves many conscientious men fearfull to subscribe, who yet verily believe they must stand, or fall with the present Government: and are wholly for them in their judgment.*

Answ:

7. We must by no means grant, that there is truth in these suggestions. For: 1. we know there are diverse, which refuse this *Ingagement* out of meer dis-affection to the present Government. 2. There are diverse neutral minded men which do subscribe this *Ingagement* not without some unwillingnesse, which nevertheless will the rather be true, and faithfull because they have so ingaged. Fear of penalty will be as potent to keep some men from breaking, as it has been to keep others from refusing the *Ingagement*. 3. Tis impossible for us to beleeve that pure conscience restrains any man at all from subscribing: it must be peevishnes, of humor, and opinion, it cannot be conscience. Our reason is: because there is no third thing betwixt being a Friend, and an Enemy: betwixt being true, and false: betwixt being obedient, and disobedient. Can we possibly admit, that they are wholly for us in their judgments; that they expect to stand, and fall with us, that they are conscientiously bound up from attempting against us: which think it a sin to promise any truth, or fidelity to us? Either it is a sin to be true, and faithfull to this Common-wealth,

or it is not. If it be a ſin: in the judgment of our *Non-ingagers*, to be true, and faithfull; then are our *Non-ingagers* worſe then Enemies: for enemies themſelves may without ſin paſſe pacts of truth, and fidelity to each other: and if our *Non-ingagers* be worſe then enemies, tis treacherous in them to pretend they are leſſe. Pure conſcience cannot permit them to ſay, they are wholly of our judgement, their ſafety is involved in ours, they are no way diſaffected to the preſent Government: whileſt at the ſame time it ſuggeſts to them that they ſin if they prove true, and faithfull to us. On the other ſide, if they allow there is no ſin in being true, and faithfull to us: then they muſt allow withall, that there is no ſin in promiſing truth, and faithfulneſſe. Nay without doubt, the thing being lawfull, the promiſe of the thing becomes lawfull, if not neceſſary when tis required by the Magiſtrate for ſecurance of the publick peace. Tis a ſtrange thing to imagine, what new predicament the *Non-ingagers* muſt finde out for themſelves. Profeſt enemies they abhor to be, their judgements, their ſafeties, their own intereſts force them to diſclaim that Name: Profeſt Friends nevertheleſſe they dare not be; ſome ſcruples of conſcience deter them from any ſuch obligation. Neuters they cannot be, becauſe they are Natives, and members of this State, and owe allegiance to Government, howſoever they may except againſt this, or that form of Government. Forreiners that have no dependence upon us, nor owe allegiance to us, may profeſſe neutrality, and if they be not againſt us, we repute them as if they were for us: but tis otherwiſe with the *Engliſh* ſubjects. Ambidexters they will diſdain to be: for of ſuch the contrary rule is true: If they be not with us, they be againſt us: a ſeeming, ſimulatory, Friend to two contrary parties is a reall, aſſured enemy to both: our Saviours mouth has left it unqueſtionable, that *No man can ſerve two Maſters*. It will therefore well become our *Non-ingagers*, to be plain dealing with us in this, though they may not be true to us, and let us know under what notion they would be lookt upon. If they be neither Friends, nor Enemies, nor Neuters, nor Ambidexters, let them give themſelves ſome fifth Name, onely let it be ſuch a Name, as may fall under ſome definition.

Conſider.

The Covenant, *we ſee, is a great hindrance of reconciliation with* Scotland, *which ſhews the pernitious conſequences of laying obligations upon*

the

the people. For to oblige the people, and not interpret, nor limit those obligations, is a way to perpetuate strife, to multiply disputes, and conscientious entanglements.

Answ:

8. How ill our plain, necessary *Ingagement*, that comes recommended to us by good wholsome precedents from all ages, and Nations is compared to the many intricacies, and inconsonancies, of the *Scoch Covenant* has been already shewed. The various interpretations of the *Covenant* might perhaps beget, and perpetuate strifes betwixt two emulous Nations: but our *Ingagement* is so liquid, facile, and concise a tie of truth, and fidelity from *English* men to their common Mother: that even they which have most tortur'd their brains to raise quarres, and scruples about it, at last, know not how to stile themselves, nor where to place themselves: nor can they teach us how we should understand their Chimeraes, or resolve their fond enigmas. Let not that therefore be accused of creating quarrels, which is so hard to be quarrell'd at.

Consider.

It were more for the glory of God, if Magistrates would trust God with their Government, not thinking themselves the safer by tying man to them, especially by means that have so often failed. Oh beware of unbelief.

Answ:

9. To use honest, well proportioned means allowed, and appointed by God, with a Trust that God will blesse the same to us, is rather to honour, then distrust God: and tis not a trusting, but rather a tempting of God, when we sit still, and let slip opportunities upon a vain expectation that God will supply us with extraordinarie, unpromis'd helps. Constant experience instructs us, that Promises and other sacramentall obligations have been ever honorably, and profitably made use of for religious, and civill purposes: they have been sanctified by God himself both giving, and accepting of them: they have not onely bound man to man, but man to God, and God to man. Therefore to argue against such expedients in this case, upon the strength of such propositions as are generall, and as concludent against all humane expedients in all cases whatsoever, must needs savour of a spirit too litigious, and acrimonious.

Consider:

By this Ingagement *persecution of godly men is grown higher in divers respects then it was in the times of Prelaticall power: in regard that non-Ingagers are now more in number then non-conformists were formerly: and whereas imprisonment was formerly the penalty of Puritans, now subscribers now are put out of the Laws protection as to their estates: if 10000 li. be owing them, they are at the Debtors courtesie, whether He will pay one penny, or not.*

Answ:

10. The Common-wealth of *England* denyes no protection to any, that will promise truth and fidelity in their respects all subjection: nor does it deprive any of the benefit of Law, that ingage to be Friends to the Law. Wherefore since the Common-wealth is in the place of a Mother, and every particular man is but in the place of a Son: tis not fit the Son which first rejects his Mother, should complain afterwards that He is rejected by his Mother. Away with such stupid grosse partialities: He which out-laws himself, cannot complain of an out-laws hard condition: and He that joyns not with the people in all necessary expedients to uphold the Law, out-laws himself. Tis double injustice for a Subject undutifully to forfeit the States favour first, and then to expostulate against its dis-favour: as it is double ingratitude in a Son to deny filial duty first, and then to cry out against paternall severity after. The Subject here is his own persecuter, and the Son his own true dis-inheritor: forasmuch as both with-hold that which was due absolutely, and naturally, yet have nothing with-held from them, but what was due conditionally, and secondarily.

Consider.

We deny not that the Magistrate may require security for the obedience of men, that give occasion of suspition: but we deny the Magistrates power, and rule over mens consciences. For Christ has redeem'd us to himself, that we might serve him without fear, and not suffer our selves to be brought in bondage to the wils of men. So Calvin: Instit: l: 3. c: 19. S: 14. The Conclusion is: what a Christian may not lawfully act, He may not be lawfully constrained to act by the Magistrate: but a Christian may not lawfully act against his conscience though erring: therfore He may not lawfully be constrained thereunto.

Answ:

11. Tis confessed there are high prerogatives of Liberty (to use

use *Calvins* own words) which Christ has purchast with his blood for faithfull consciences, to exempt them from the power of men: and that these prerogatives are lost to such consciences, as yeeld themselves to be snared with bonds of Laws, and Ordinances at the will of men. But we must understand with all, that no exemption from the bonds of the Law moral, or any Civil ordinances not crossing the *Law* moral, is here intended, or reckoned amongst Christs purchased Prerogatives: for Christ himself was obedient to the Higher Powers: and did professe that He came not to destroy, but to fulfill the Law. We must therefore restrain *Calvins* meaning to a freedom from Leviticall ceremonies, or humane, unnecessary impositions in matters Ecclesiasticall: or to commands evidently sinfull. Inasmuch as the Consciences of faithfull Christians cannot be properly said to be snared with any other Laws, and Ordinances. For that we are to be subject to government, and Governors for conscience sake; and that a faithfull, pure conscience is a thing very different from the ignorant fears, or rash presumptions of a mis-guided minde, is very cleer by the Scripture. Therefore when the Considerator argues that a man may neither act, nor be enforced to act against an erring Conscience, He seems to me to utter meer non-sense, forasmuch as that opinion which may be false, and erroneous, is so far from being a mans conscience, that tis inconsistent with conscience. Shall we call the Papists blinde zeal which makes him thirst after Protestant blood an erroneous conscience? and shall the Magistrate forbear all force, and restraint towards Him, because He onely follows the dictates of an erroneous conscience? We may aswell call that conscience which leads the Ranter into uncleanesse: which urges the Arrian to blaspheme Christ, and which induces the poore Indian to offer humane blood in sacrifice to the Divill. No: Conscience in St. *Pauls* sense (whom *Calvin* follows) is that Agent of God in the soul which holds forth to us the lamp of Nature (or rather of God creating us) improved further with the oyl of grace (or rather of God redeeming us) to shew us the uglines of sin, and the beauty of righteousnes: and as this Agent of God never mis-instructs us, so neither are its instances with us ever to be rejected under pretence of any humane ordinances and powers whatsoever contradicting. *Whatsoever is not of faith is sin:* and that cannot be of faith, which is not clearly warranted by the

the Word of God: therefore to follow an erroneous perswasion, under the name of Conscience, is sinfull, unfaithfull, and unwarranted by the word of God. The *Considerator* pleads his doubts, and scruples, and fears, as the distates of his conscience against the *Ingagement:* alas conscience, if it be undefiled, pure, and faithfull (such as *Calvin* out of St. *Paul* intimates) is above all doubts, fears, and scruples, at least it is far predominant over them. And let the *Considerator* deal ingenuously with himself, and search strictly into the darkest retirements of that, which He cals conscience: and He shall finde, that doubts, fears, and scruples assail him on the one hand, as well as on the other. If the *Considerator* be not fully satisfied in this, that He may be true, and faithfull to the present Government; I dare tell him, and that from his own mouth too, He is as ill satisfied in this, that He may disobey the Magistrate under whose protection He lives, in denying an assurance of his truth and loyalty, when it is not onely a command, but a command so necessary for securance of the publick peace. Can we then imagine, that Conscience Gods resident in the Soul is divided against it self? or can we imagine, that that trumpet which founds points of war so contrary is to be obeyed, above all Laws, and Ordinances? and revered as Gods resident? The *Considerator* will say: if I have my dissatisfactions both wayes, how shall I extricate my self either way? how shall I ingage, or not ingage without sin, since neither ingaging, nor refusing is of faith with me? is it not in this case my safest course to obey that instinct, or prompting of my conscience which is most powerfull, and least opposite to faith? I answer, God has not left thee without an issue, and a way to escape out of the midst of these perplexities. For all cases are either certain, or dubious; and in all cases certain God has made every man a Judge: and has left in every man that which we call Conscience to negotiate in his behalf; and the judgement which Conscience passes herein, is beyond all other Laws, and Jurisdictions. But in dubious cases, God has not left every man a Judge; private men against their own opinions are to conform to the sentences of their Commissioned Magistrates; and in so doing they violate not their consciences, they rather do that for which they have a sure warrant, such a warrant as faith may rest upon, and Conscience be quieted by. By this warrant, the Apostles, and their followers did pay due

allegiance

allegiance to the *Cæsars*, the worst of men, and most injurious of usurpers: though it was more then probable in those daies, that their Titles were gotten, and maintained by force, fraud, and bloody rapine. Who knows not, that in that infancy of the Church *Herod* had newly usurpt over the Jews, that the *Romans* usurpt over him, and were in like manner presently after usurpt over by the *Cæsars:* yea that even in the family of the *Cæsars*, there were almost continuall usurpations?

But the *Considerator* will still say: can Conscience permit me to dispence with Oaths formerly taken by submitting now to contrary, inconsistent *Ingagement?* is not this a thing evidently, and indubitably evill? and is not Conscience a sufficient Judge of things so evident, and indubitable? I answer. 1. Where man is hem'd in, with two unavoidable evils, the lesse is to be chosen: and the choise of the lesse, is no sin, but a duty. When man cannot preserve himself, or some other living Creature without transgressing a Sabbath duty, the transgressing of that duty becomes an office of charity: because the means by its subordination was necessarily to give way to the end. 2ly, To submit to a new obligation which is conducent to the publick good, and to wave a former contrary obligation, when it is become opposite to its first end is no evident, indubitable evil. The Law by Oath bound the King, and all under him to maintain the ancient rights, usages, and Statutes of the Land: yet when any change of those rights, usages, and Statutes became necessary for the publick good, we are all satisfied that the King and all under him gave way to that change without perjury. So if we have been sworn to maintain Monarchy, the form of government being but subordinate to an higher end, when Monarchy becomes destructive to that end, the force of our Oath ceases: for Laws create forms, and Laws uphold forms by Oaths; but neither forms, nor oaths binde longer then the Laws: and we see, there is a subordination even amongst Laws themselves, and by the rules of that subordination, temporary Laws are to yeeld to perpetuall Laws, conditionall to absolute; mediate, to finall. When Nature permits heavie bodies contrary to the Law of heavy bodies to ascend, for the prevention of some greater breach of some Law that concerns all the Elements, and the peace of the universe: it teaches us, what we are to do in politicks. I leave these things to the *Considerators*

own

own application. The Magistrate which is now girt with Gods sword, requires an assurance from him of his allegiance for the better preventing of future broils, and disturbances. His private phancie tels him that assurance is due to some other Magistrate, which if He may judge of secret reasons of State, and things above Him, has more right to the Sword: yet in the mean time doubts, whether God has intrusted him with any such judgement, or no: and He sees his example keeps the publick Peace the more unsetled, and He forfeits the protection of Law to Himself, by denying his obedience to the same: I say no more: the *Considerator* here is hedged in with two inevitable evils, let him consider, whether is the greater.

Errata. Page 29. line 22. for dishonouring, read dischotomizing.

FINIS.